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ERRORS IN LAST REGISTER.

- p. 770. Five lines from bottom, read *early rising*, and not "early hours."
 p. 771. First line, second paragraph, read *far*, and not "for other matter."
 p. 798. Last line, first paragraph, *docks* and not "dark."
 p. 799. Read Right Honourable *ruiner*, and not "minor."
 Same page, last line, read *dead-match*, and not "death-match."

Manchester, 27th Dec. 1831.

HAVING received the Bishop's Prayer and Charley's Rescript at Birmingham, I felt bold, as Jonathan says, clapped them into my side-pocket, as near to my heart as possible, and on I came to face the cholera morbus. I arrived at Manchester on Wednesday, the 21st December; on Friday evening I met a committee of clever, public-spirited men, who are making preparations for those measures which are necessary to the causing of me to be elected a member for this town. I was very much pleased with the conduct of these gentlemen, generally young men, and I was particularly pleased at the absence of those things which indicate a love of drink. I should despair not only of effecting any good myself, but also of seeing any good effected by any-body else, if I had been invited to a committee engaged in this business, showing a fondness for that species of indulgence which is at once the disgrace and the ruin of every cause into which it at all intrudes itself. To these gentlemen, I shortly, yet explicitly, stated my views with regard to the duties which would impose themselves upon a member of a reformed Parliament, and also

with regard to the line of conduct which I intended to pursue relative to matters connected with the election, whenever it should take place, at Manchester.

This, however, was not all that it became me to do, having come two hundred miles from London, and in the face of the cholera morbus. In short, it was determined by myself, as well as by friends here, that I should give **SIX LECTURES**, at the Minor Theatre in this town, on the 26th of December and the five succeeding evenings; in order that I might, in person, from my own lips, and in the hearing of the inhabitants of this great scene of industry and seat of intelligence, maintain the truth, the soundness, the justice, the necessity, and the easy practicability of the **THIRTEEN PROPOSITIONS** which I put forth some time ago addressed to the reformers of Manchester, and which gave such great offence to old **SERJEANT BEST**, and to **LORDS FALMOUTH, CARNARVON, and LYNTHURST**. Accordingly, upon last evening I gave the first lecture, of which I am now about to insert a report, as correct as my memory will enable me to make it. These are called lectures, though they are in fact *speeches*. To give the exact words is what I by no means pretend to do. The substance is all that can be interesting to the reader, and that I shall give with tolerable correctness. My intention is to publish all these six lectures in the *Register* successively, one week after another. My readers will then have before them, not only a clear statement of my intentions and my resolution with regard to my own conduct, as connected with this reform; but they will also be in full possession of the motives by which I am actuated and of the grounds upon which I proceed. In short, these lectures, when completed, will form my declaration to the country; my declaration to the people and to the peers and the King (if they think it worth while to attend to it), of what **SHALL BE**

DONE, or, at any rate, attempted to be done, if I have a seat in the House of Commons in the reformed Parliament. And, now, having given the history of these lectures, I shall here insert a report of the first of them.

MANCHESTER LECTURES.

LECTURE I.

26th December, 1831.

GENTLEMEN OF MANCHESTER,

I AM here for the purpose of maintaining, in the presence and hearing of the inhabitants of the most intelligent town in the kingdom, those propositions, which I some time ago put forth in an address to the reformers of this town, who had sent to me an expression of their intention to put me in nomination as a member of Parliament, whenever the Reform Bill should give them the power of choosing one. Upon an occasion of so much importance to the country, as well as to myself, I thought it necessary to state, in the most distinct manner, the terms upon which I would undertake the honourable, yet arduous task which had been tendered to me. These terms I stated in thirteen propositions, to which I now add another, making fourteen propositions; and I am now here to submit to you, with the greatest respect and deference, that statement of facts and those arguments which occurred to my mind when I put forth the propositions; and which, when submitted to you, will, I trust, convince you of the reasonableness, the justice, the necessity, and the practicability of the measures propounded in those propositions; which, with your permission, I will now read to you.

1. To put an end to all pensions, sinecures, grants, allowances, half-pay, and all other emoluments now paid out of the taxes, except for such public services as, upon a very scrupulous examination, shall be found fully to merit them; and to reduce all salaries to the American standard.
2. To discharge the standing army, except such part of the ordnance and

artillery as may be necessary to maintain the arsenals at the sea-ports in a state of readiness for war; and to abolish the military academies, and dispose of all barracks and other property now applied to military uses.

3. To make the counties, each according to its whole number of members of parliament, maintain and equip a body of militia, horse as well as foot and artillery, at the county expense, and to have these bodies, as they are in America, mustered at stated periods; so that at any time, a hundred thousand efficient men may be ready to come into the field, if the defence of the kingdom require it.
4. To abolish tithes of every description; to leave to the clergy the churches, the church-yards, the parsonage houses, and the *ancient* glebes; and, for the rest, leave them to the voluntary contributions of the people.
5. To take all the rest of the property, commonly called church-property; all the houses, lands, manors, tithes, rents, and real property of every kind, now possessed by bishops, chapters, or other ecclesiastical bodies, and all the misapplied property of corporate bodies of every sort; and also all the property called crown-lands, or crown-estates, including that of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster; and sell them all, and apply the proceeds to the discharge of the Debt which the late parliaments contracted with the fundholders.
6. To cease, during the first six months after June, 1832, to pay interest on a fourth part of the debt; second six months, to cease to pay interest on another fourth; and so on for the other two fourths; so that no more interest, or any part of the debt, would be paid after the end of two years.
7. To divide the proceeds of all the property mentioned in paragraph No. 5, and also in paragraph No. 2, in due proportion, on principles of

equity, amongst the owners of what is called *stock*, or, in other words, the *fundholders*, or persons who lent their money to those who borrowed it in virtue of acts of the late parliaments, and to give to the fundholders, out of the taxes, nothing beyond these proceeds.

8. To make an equitable adjustment with respect to the pecuniary contracts between man and man, and thereby rectify, as far as practicable, the wrongs and ruin inflicted on thousands upon thousands of virtuous families by the arbitrary changes made by acts of the late parliaments, in the value of the money of the country.
9. To abolish *all internal taxes* (except on the land), whether direct or indirect, including stamp-taxes of every description; and to impose such a postage-charge for letters as to defray the *real expenses* of an economical and yet efficient post-office establishment, and no more; so that the postage would be merely a *payment* for the conveyance of letters, and not a tax.
10. To lay just as much custom-house duty on importations as shall be found conducive to the benefit of the navigation, commerce, and manufactures of the kingdom, viewed as a whole, and not to lay on one penny more.
11. To make effectual provision, in every department, for the maintenance of a powerful navy; to give such pay and such an allotment of prize-money to the seaman as to render impressment wholly unnecessary; to abolish the odious innovation of *naval academies*, and re-open the door of promotion to skill and valour, whether found in the heirs of nobles, or in the sons of the loom or of the plough; to abolish all military *Orders*, and to place the navy next in honour to the throne itself.
12. To make a legal, a *fixed*, and a generous allowance to the King, and, through him, to all the branches and members of his fa-

mily; to leave to him the unshackled freedom of appointing all his servants, whether of his household or of his public ministry; to leave to him the full control over his palaces, gardens, and parks, as land-owners have over their estates; to take care that he be not worried with intrigues to purloin from him that which the people give him for his own enjoyment; so that he may be, in all respects, what the Chief of a free people ought to be, his name held in the highest honour, and his person held sacred, as the great guardian of the people's rights.

13. To make an accurate valuation of all the houses, lands, mines, and other real property, in each county in the whole kingdom; to impose a tax upon that property, to be paid quarterly, and in every county on the same day, and in such manner as to cost in the collection, or, rather, payment, not more than *four hundred pounds* a year in any one county; to make the rate and amount of this tax vary with the wants of the state, always taking care to be amply provided with means in case of war, when war shall be demanded by the safety, the interest, or the honour of the kingdom.
14. To cause the PROTESTANT HIERARCHY to be legally repealed and abolished in Ireland; and to cause the Parliament of the whole kingdom to hold its sessions, and the King to hold his COURT IN IRELAND once in every three years; and to cause the same to take place in the city of YORK once in every three years, and also in the city of SALISBURY, once in every three years.

I am well aware, gentlemen, that, upon hearing these propositions read, many will be disposed to exclaim "What a visionary this man must be!" I am well aware of this: but, it is a great change which we want: something very great must be done; and, as to the propositions being visionary, are they more visionary than the man would have been

deemed, who, thirty or forty years ago, should have predicted many things of which we now behold the sad reality? The fourteenth proposition will, I dare say, appear to many more visionary than all the rest; but, let some one then, even that sensible Lord Althorp, who has recently been engaged in so dignified a correspondence with certain persons in this county, tell us WHAT CAN BE DONE WITH IRELAND, which, you will please to observe, is far too great to be treated as if it were insignificant; and with regard to which the Ministers know not what to do, any more than I should be able to obey an order to take this house and fling it into the air. However, my reasons for proposing these measures with respect to Ireland, I shall have hereafter fully to state.

As to the propositions being visionary, if any person had, thirty years ago, predicted that we should, in the year 1831, see a half-military police established in England; dressed in uniform, and in numbers so great as to constitute a real army, formed into companies and battalions, put under leaders with military titles, marching rank and file: in short, if any one had told me, thirty years ago, that I should live to see a Bourbon *gendarmarie* established in London, with a *lieutenant de police*, together with all the rest of these things, for which, from my childhood, I had been taught to hold the Bourbons in contempt and abhorrence; if any man had told me this in the year 1800, I should have deemed him a visionary indeed; I should have turned from him as a person unworthy of attention. Yet, we have seen this horrid thing come to pass; and we have seen a hundred English parishes burdened enormously for the maintenance of this army; burdened much more than for the maintenance of the poor. If, only a very few years before the late war, some one had predicted that there would be established in England a standing army of 100,000 men; nay, if some one had predicted during the last war, at the time when Pitt was promising us a peace that should give us indemnity for the past and security for the future, and calling upon us to make sa-

crifices of all sorts, in order to ensure the attainment of these objects; if, at that time, some one had said, "the peace will bring you neither indemnity nor security; you will have to maintain a regular army of 100,000 men, besides 10,000 Bourbon *gendarmarie*; you will have to maintain what they will call a dead weight, which shall surpass, in expense annually, the whole revenue of this happy kingdom at the time when his present Majesty was born; you will find this, indeed, a very lively weight, though called a dead one, and find it singularly prolific; though dead, it will breed exceedingly; you will have to maintain the widows and the children of the men, and lest the burden should cease, at some time or other, the old men will be allowed to sell their half-pay to young men, which these young men may repeat when they become old, and thus the burden will remain stuck upon your children's children."

If, I say, any one had foretold this at the time when Pitt was promising indemnity for the past and security for the future, and was making this credulous nation believe that the monstrous sacrifices which it was making during the war would lead to a peace that would enable every man to sit under his own vine and his own fig tree, without any one to make him afraid: if at that time any one had told the nation that this standing army, this *gendarmarie* and this dead-weight, would be the result of the war, he would have been prosecuted as a stirrer-up of sedition, or pitied as a maniac. Yet we have seen these things, and see them yet; we have found them to be no vision, but a cruel reality, under which we are writhing. If any one had at that time foretold that the peace establishment, military and naval, would cost the nation a great deal more annually than the annual cost of army and navy during the war with the revolted states of America, when England had not only to carry on a war against those states, but against France, Spain, and Holland, at the same time; if any one had foretold this at that time, he would

have been treated as a visionary; yet such is the case, and the annual expense of army and navy, at the end of sixteen years of peace, exceeds that of any year of war against the revolted states of America, including the war against the three great countries before-mentioned; a fact which, of itself, is more than sufficient to convince any sensible man that this system must be totally changed, before any one can hope to see real peace and prosperity in England.

If, forty-five years ago, any one had told Mr. ELMAN, a very celebrated farmer in Sussex, who gave evidence before a committee of the House of Commons in 1821, and who told that committee, that when he began business as a farmer, *every man in the parish* brewed his own beer, and drank it with his family by his own fire-side; and that NOW (in 1821) not one single man in that parish did it, except a servant or two of his own to whom he gave the malt as a present. If any one had, at the time when Mr. Elman began business as a farmer, told him, that before his farming would be over, he would see the people of his parish become so miserable as hardly to know the taste of beer, and to be compelled to drink water and eat potatoes, he would have turned from the prophet with disgust: visionary would have been an appellation much too mild to be applied to such a person, yet this horrid state of things has come to pass; and this state of things we must change, or else Parliamentary Reform will be a mockery and a delusion.

One more instance, not going so far back. If, in the memorable year 1817, when the bankers and merchants of London, with their surprisingly wise Lord Mayor at their head, were assembled in what they call their Mansion-house, to address the King, and petition the Parliament, in approbation of the Power of Imprisonment Bills, and the Dungeon Bill, and the Gagging Bill, as being means absolutely necessary to put down those turbulent men, who, under pretence of seeking reform of Parliament, were, in fact, seeking to accomplish the treasonable design of overthrowing our happy constitution in

church and state; if, at that time, when a reformer could not move without a bayonet being presented at his breast, or a halter being shaken in his face; if, at that time, the wise men of Gotham, being so assembled as aforesaid, to express their unshaken attachment to things as they were, and their resolution to use all the means in their power to put down and annihilate those seditious men who were crying for Parliamentary Reform; if some one had stepped into the Mansion-house, and had just said, "My Lord Mayor, it will be better not to issue these declarations; for, in just fourteen years from this day, these very bankers and merchants of London, will meet in this very place, and will send forth addresses to the King, in which they will bully the Lords for not consenting to a Parliamentary Reform much more extensive than that which would satisfy the present reformers!"—"Turn him out!"—"Knock him down!"—"He's a parson!"—Something of this sort would have taken place to a certainty; the bankers and merchants of London, not being remarkable for their forbearance, when they possess power, and when their adversary is feeble. Yet, we have seen even this take place; and, in that very Mansion-house, we have heard speeches against the Lords, and particularly against the Bishops, more inflammatory than any-where else.

Therefore, gentleman, I am not to be deterred by the imputation of visionary as applied to me on account of those propositions, which I shall suffer still to be called visionary if any one choose so to call them, but I am perfectly satisfied that the measures which they describe must be adopted, or that the reform which is talked of will be a contemptible delusion. A great many people mistake the Reform Bill for reform itself; and a very great mistake it is. The Reform Bill furnishes the means of making the reform. A reform means a *change for the better*; and, in this case, the change must be very great to be of any use at all. A great many people seem to imagine, or, at least, they act, as if they imagined, that the mere



sound of reform would be sufficient, without any proceedings to produce a change in the state of the country. The Ministers themselves appear to be amongst these persons; for you never hear from their lips any thing seeming to indicate that they look upon it as necessary that some great change should take place in the manner of managing the affairs of the country. Yet, if some great change do not take place, in this respect, I am perfectly convinced that the passing of the Reform Bill would lead to disappointment and discontent, such as must plunge the country into utter confusion. Does any one believe that the mere *sound* of the word *Reform* will quiet the country? That, when the trader, who feels the work of ruin still proceeding, is told, in order to pacify him, not to complain *now*, for that we have *got reform*: does any one think, that that will make him submit to his ruin without further complaint? When the hungry and angry half-starved labourers complain of their sufferings, and are ready to break out into acts of violence will they be quieted by telling them, that they must not complain *now*, for that we have *got reform*; will they, at the sound of that word, cease to harbour vindictive thoughts relative to those whom they deem their oppressors? Oh, no! the reform must be something more than a *bill*, something more than a bit of printed paper; it must, to be productive of harmony, cause something to be done to *better the state of the people*; and, in order to do this, it must produce, and quickly too, not only a change in the management of the affairs of the country, but a *very great change*. When a man is brought by his extravagance to the verge of insolvency; when, having been puffed up by *Pitt's paper*, and pulled down by *Peel's bill*, he sees bankruptcy staring him in the face, it is not savings in the articles of salt and pepper that will rescue him from his embarrassments. Oh, no! the turtle, the wine, the coach, the horses, the footmen and grooms and lady's maids must go, and even the house, the fine house itself, and the pianos and the music-masters, must all disappear. The

word economy will not keep such a man out of the Gazette. It must be real economy: there must be 20% a year given for a house to live in instead of a *thousand*; otherwise the *word* economy is a delusion.

Such is our case now. If the *Reform Bill* be to leave the system of sway that which it now is; if the same sort of management of our affairs be to go on after that bill shall have passed, as is going on now; and really, to judge from the language of the Ministers, one would say that *they contemplate no change*; if the *tithes* and *taxes* be still to remain such as they now are; if a Bourbon gendarmerie be still to dog our steps, and stop us when they like at any hour of the day and night; if the Englishmen, who do all the work, be still doomed to live on potatoes and water, while those who take from them the fruit of their labour, are living on all the choice products of the earth; if Englishmen and women be still harnessed and made to draw like beasts of burden; if a reformed Parliament cannot find the means of protecting the *dead bodies* of the working poor, while such ample means are found for protecting the dead body of a hare, a pheasant, or a partridge; then, indeed, the bishops did right in opposing the Reform Bill; for a greater delusion, a greater fraud, never was attempted to be practised on any part of mankind. Let me stop here, gentlemen, to request your particular attention to this matter relating to the want of law to protect the dead-bodies of the working-people. You all know, or, at least, every Englishman ought to know, that for an unqualified person to have *in his possession*, the body of a hare, pheasant, or partridge, was, a few months back, a *crime*, punishable by fine or imprisonment; that to have in his possession *wires*, or other implements, for taking any of these wild animals, is still a *crime*, punishable in the same manner; that, to be out in the night *in pursuit of*, and seeking after, the bodies of either of these wild animals, and carrying with him the implements wherewith to take or kill them, is still a *crime*, punishable with *transport-*

ation for seven years, and this punishment may be inflicted, too, and has been, and is, frequently inflicted without the sanction of a *judge*, and at the sole discretion and pleasure of the justices in quarter-sessions, who, as you well know, are the game-preservers themselves. Yet those who could, and so recently, too, pass over this last-mentioned law, and those new and "*liberal*" members who have been able to sit quietly, and say not a word about this law for transporting men for making free with the bodies of wild animals, which, according to Blackstone, are the property of no man, and which belong in common to all men; those who could make and so vigilantly enforce this law, cannot, for the lives and souls of them, find out the means of passing a law to protect the bodies, *alive or dead*, of the working-people; other than that of making it lawful to *sell their bodies when dead*, to be cut up and cast away like the bodies of murderers or traitors.

Gentlemen, from every-thing that I have ever heard here in the North, and particularly in this town, I believe, that if the horrible bill to which I have just alluded had become a law, that law would have never been acted upon by the parochial authorities of Manchester. I hope that the same would generally have been the case; but I have no scruple to say, that an attempt to enforce the law in any of the agricultural counties would have produced open and desperate rebellion. Judge you, gentlemen, of the feelings of the country people on this subject, when I tell you that there are *clubs* in the country parishes in Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, and, I suppose, in all the southern counties, which clubs are for the purpose of forming a *fund* for defraying the expense of *watching the graves of the relations of the members of the club*, if any of them should die, or the graves of the *members themselves* if they should die! How honourable to the feelings of the working people, and how disgraceful to the Parliament is this fact! Judge you, gentlemen, what would have been the consequences of an attempt to enforce amongst such a people the atrocious bill

for selling their bodies to be cut up like those of the most heinous malefactors! A labouring man, JAMES IVES, who worked constantly for me some time ago, came to me, with tears in his eyes, to get 12s. in advance of his wages, to pay (that being the price) for *watching the grave of his daughter*, who was just then about to be buried! Why, gentlemen, what *government-protection* could this man discover? What had this man to make him willing to be obedient to the laws? Great care is taken of the *property of the rich*; the law hunts it with inflexible eagerness go whither it may; here the law has grown harder and harder, till it has made the receiving of stolen goods a *felonious* offence, punishable with *transportation*. But those who passed and have enforced so rigidly this law, have not been able to find out any means whatever to punish the RECEIVERS OF STOLEN BODIES; though they MUST of necessity KNOW them to have been stolen, if not murdered as well as stolen! Common justice, even natural justice, would make it *felony*, punishable with death, in any one to have in his *possession* a dead body, or a part of a dead body, unless able to produce proof that he obtained it in consequence of a *sentence of a court of justice*, or in virtue of the *last will* of the party.

This is what the people have a right to demand from the Parliament. For the want of it, even the horrid murders recently come to light in London, are manifestly to be ascribed; and, if the working people find no better protection from a reformed Parliament; if such Parliament still show that it values the dead body of a hare above that of the dead body of the working man, his wife, or his child; if this be the case, far better would it have been never to have brought in the bill. If Irishmen be still to be treated as they have been; if they, whenever the Government pleases, be to be shut up in their houses from sun-set to sun-rise, on pain of *transportation for seven years* if absent for more than *fifteen minutes*; and if that punishment be still to be inflicted without *judge or jury*, at the sole dis-

cretion of two justices of the peace and a barrister, all appointed by, and removeable at, the pleasure of Government; if these things be to remain; and if the *bloody tithe battles* be still to disfigure Ireland and fill the world with wonder and with horror; if, in short, the reform of Parliament, be still to provide heaps of luxuries for the idle tens of thousands, and to leave the labouring millions in misery, then *we want no reform*; then to talk of reform is to insult the suffering people.

But, gentlemen, if *we do want a reform*, we want a real one, and not a pretended one. We want a *great change for the better*; not merely a change, but a *great change*. The propositions which I have been permitted to read to you, have been said to aim at the destruction of the *institutions of the country*. I shall, in the future proposed lectures, prove clearly that they aim not only not at the destruction, but not at the impairing, of any one institution of the country, properly so called, unless to take money away from the industrious and to give it to the idle be "*an institution of the country*." We want no change in the form of the government; we want, indeed, to make this same government *a great deal cheaper* than it is; and, by so doing, we take the only sure course of preserving it; for it is utterly impossible that the millions can love it, while it is so very costly as it now is. We have, or at least, I have, no quarrel with the form of government. I know that our country has been the greatest, the most renowned, and the happiest in the world, under this form of government; I know that all its famous institutions have risen up, and that it was the cradle of real liberty, while there were a king, lords, and commons: I know that it is not republican government alone that can be *cheap* government; for I know that England knew nothing of an internal tax for century after century, while it still had this same kingly government; to which [*I might have added*] that the first time that it was cursed with an excise-tax, was during the short period that it was called a republic. I there-

fore wish to see no change in the form of the government; and while I express a wish to see it made a cheap government, and express my determination to have nothing to do with its affairs, unless I see a fair prospect to give effect to that wish, I am clearly of opinion, and, indeed, I know the fact, that it can be rendered, without injustice to anybody, even a cheaper government than that of the United States of America. But, to arrive at this end, I can see nothing short of the adoption, the hearty and cheerful adoption, of the fourteen propositions which you have had the indulgence to permit me to lay before you.

I am sorry to say that I do not discover in any of the acts of the present Ministers, any disposition, nor even any thought, to make that great change of which I have been speaking. I say not this in hostility to them. I have not the smallest desire to see them removed from their places, or to see them fall into discredit with the nation. If I could have my wish, my LORD GREY would remain in office until he had accomplished all the good which would arise from the adoption of these propositions. Nothing would please me better than to see this take place. But at the same time, it is my duty to state to you, that I have not been able to discover, either in the words or the acts of his lordship, any thing that encourages me to hope that he has any intentions at all of making so great a change as that which I hold to be absolutely necessary.

He who undertakes the great task which is now imposed upon the man who would set the affairs of this great kingdom to rights, must be prepared for exertions such as scarcely ever before were imposed upon any man. The thing to be done well, and to make this reform really satisfactory to the nation, must be set about in right earnest; must be begun, as men begin to plough a field or to weave a piece of cloth, and be pursued on from the beginning to the end without relaxation, and with a resolution to finish the work in the manner in which it has been begun. What, then

is the sort of men, to whom the people, who will now enjoy the right of voting, and especially in those great hives in the north; what is the sort of men whom they ought to choose to encounter this arduous undertaking? First, they should be stored with a great and perfect knowledge relative to the whole of the affairs of the nation. Next, they should possess the talent sufficient to enable them to state with clearness, and to argue conclusively, and to the producing of conviction, the matters, which they have the disposition to impress upon the minds of others. Next, they should possess resolution to speak what they think, in spite of every effort to damp or overawe them. Possessing all these endowments, however, still there would be wanting that prime quality of all; steadiness of purpose, and indefatigable industry, without which not all the virtues, and all the genius in the world, could do anything effectual, in the renovating a country, corroded with abuses of all sorts, embarrassed and entangled as the affairs of this country, and the country itself, now are. Even endowed with all these qualities, with perfect disinterestedness, with zeal, with devotion to country, all into the bargain, there would still be wanting a mind, not to be made to swerve from its point for one single moment by the blandishments of a court, or the still more dangerous blandishments of the aristocracy.

Whether I have been drawing my own picture, and thereby saying indirectly that I am the man to be chosen for this great town of Manchester, whose bounden duty it is to set an example to all the other towns in the north; whether I have been doing this or not, I must leave for you yourselves to decide; but, lest you should come to a conclusion in the affirmative, it is necessary that I should now address myself to you more particularly upon the personal interest that I take in this affair as connected with the town of Manchester. Gentlemen, if I were capable of affectation, I could not carry it to the point of saying, that it is a matter of indifference with me, whether I be

chosen to serve in Parliament or not, by this great town. I should, indeed, be an insensible clod, did no desire exist in my mind to have the great glory of being the representative of that town, the name of which is, throughout the whole world, synonymous with excellence in ingenuity and industry. But, justice to myself calls upon me to say, that I am not here for the low purpose of CANVASSING for a seat in Parliament. It has, for years, been my resolution, never to ask a man for his vote upon any occasion, a resolution from which nothing shall ever make me depart.

My sentiments with regard to this matter have been put in print, and the promulgation of them in that manner did not take place until I thought it was necessary to the public good, and until, indeed, it was called for by the circumstances which I am now about to state. The PROPOSITIONS which I have read to you had been published some time before that discussion in the House of Lords on the late Reform Bill, which ended in the rejection of that bill. During that discussion four of the Lords, FALMOUTH, WYNFORD (old Serjeant Best), CARNARVON, and LYNDBURST, alluded to the propositions, expressing, at the same time, their great alarm lest the ten-pound suffrage, as it stood in that bill, should lead to so disastrous an occurrence as that of putting me into Parliament. The great alarm of their Lordships made them less delicate and reserved upon this occasion than upon former occasions, it having, for a great many years, been their practice, in speaking of opinions or of matters connected with me, to content themselves with distant allusion, abstaining with all possible dignity from mentioning the name. Now, however, this reserve was thrown aside: Cobbett and Manchester were too much for dignity to endure in silence; and out came the names tumbling together. With regard to FALMOUTH and WYNFORD, my dignity would certainly have prevented me from bestowing a moment's thought on what they said; and with regard to CARNARVON, he being a HERBERT, could, I well knew, from my long familiarity

with the name, *have but one single point in view*; a HERBERT always sticking to that point, as a needle to the pole. But my Lord LYNDHURST was another sort of man: to what he said I paid great attention, having great respect as well for his talents as for his character, and always remembering his wise and good conduct while he was ATTORNEY-GENERAL. But nothing said by Lord LYNDHURST tended to convince any impartial man that Mr. COBBETT ought not to be elected for Manchester, while it had a very strong tendency the contrary way.

However, "COBBETT and MANCHESTER" having been made one of the great arguments against the Reform Bill, it became me to be more explicit than I had theretofore been, with regard to my own desires and my own views relative to a seat in the reformed Parliament. Therefore, in a published letter, addressed to my Lord Grey, soon after the rejection of the Reform Bill, I, in the frankest manner, and with the most perfect sincerity, fully stated to his Lordship, and, through him, to the nation in general, and to the people of this great town in particular, those desires and those views.

And, gentlemen, as this paper was written after the maturest deliberation; and as it is my determination to abide by every sentence contained in it, I will, with your permission, now take the liberty of reading it to you, begging you to be pleased to consider it as addressed to yourselves, and to receive it as tendered to you with the greatest respect.

"But, my Lord, the peers who oppose the bill seem to have thought of *nothing but the present moment*. They saw, as I saw, that the members coming from the great towns, and chosen by the working people, would never suffer that working people to be borne down to the earth as they now are; and they clearly saw that there was no possible way of relieving the working people, other than that of taking off the taxes to a very great extent; and they knew that this could not be done without beginning by taking from them and their families and dependents the enormous sums which

"they now receive out of those taxes. They saw, for instance, that the ten-pound suffrage would, if I chose it, put me into Parliament, where they well know that I never would be, without making the most strenuous efforts to cause this object to be accomplished. I am fully warranted in believing that the certainty, or nearly the certainty, that the ten-pound suffrage would put me into Parliament, *was one of the reasons for their rejecting the bill*. I am fully warranted in believing this, because, while almost every one of them who spoke against the bill made allusion to me and to Manchester, no less than four of them named me and that town, and cited the intention of that town to choose me, as an *instance of the great danger* to be apprehended from the ten-pound suffrage in great towns; and, my Lord, I would not take my oath *that it was not Cobbett and Manchester that convinced your colleague Lord BROUGHAM, of the propriety of being 'ready to re-consider' his opinions relative to that part of the bill!*

"To be plain, I do verily believe, that *Cobbett and Manchester* had great weight in the rejection of the bill, and also great weight with most of your colleagues, if not with your Lordship, in forming that design, which I believe to have been entertained, if it be not still entertained, *to alter the bill in this respect*, and to raise the suffrage and thereby diminish the number of voters in the great towns; and I further believe, that this is the conviction of every well-informed man in the whole kingdom.

"Such a thing as this never before disgraced any body of rulers upon the face of the earth! What a surprising thing that a man, literally bred up at the plough tail; never having been put to a school; never having had a patron of any description; having had to work all his life like a horse, to maintain and breed up a numerous family; having had no one contingency that has favoured his progress in life; having had no one earthly resource out of himself; never having

" written a line to catch the thoughtless,
 " or to flatter any description of persons,
 " high or low; having preferred living
 " on a crust to riches and ease obtained
 " by any of those means by which lite-
 " rary men usually obtain wealth and
 " exaltation: what a surprising thing
 " that such a man, leading such a life,
 " should become so formidable to two
 " great parties, dividing between them
 " the whole of the powers of the Go-
 " vernment of the greatest and richest
 " country in the world, as to make
 " those two parties (waging eternal
 " strife as to every-thing else) unite
 " like children from the same mother,
 " in efforts of every description, to keep
 " that man down! Yet, surprising as
 " it is, it is not less true than it is
 " surprising. Before the Reform Bill
 " was brought in, and when we were
 " all on the tiptoe of expectation, I
 " said to a friend, who was sitting
 " talking with me on the subject,
 " 'What sort of reform do you think
 " ' they mean to give us?' His answer
 " was: 'I think they will give just as
 " ' much as will enable them to keep
 " ' you out of Parliament.' I told him
 " that I made no doubt, that that would
 " be *the wish*; but that if they gave so
 " little as that, they would soon become
 " more odious than their predecessors;
 " and that they could not very well ex-
 " clude me *by name*, as they had very
 " nearly done in the SIX ACTS, two of
 " which might as well have had *the*
 " *name*; for every man in the kingdom
 " saw that the Acts were intended solely
 " for *the man*.

" What adds to the curiosity of the
 " thing is, that I never have wished to
 " possess any public power of any sort,
 " except that of being in Parliament,
 " and that wish arose from a desire to
 " assist in effecting a Parliamentary Re-
 " form. I cannot but know the prodi-
 " gious difficulties that must surround
 " a man who shall now undertake to
 " assist in putting the affairs of this
 " great and troubled country to rights.
 " I know well that my *thirteen proposi-*
 " *tions*, which Lord WYNFORD (I think
 " they call him), who was once the
 " renowned SERJEANT BEST, lamented

" that he had lost, and therefore could
 " not read them to the House, and
 " which I will subjoin to this letter, that
 " the late Serjeant may have them
 " another time; I know, my Lord, that
 " these thirteen propositions must be
 " adopted to the very letter, or that the
 " discontent after the reform will be
 " even greater than it is at this moment.
 " And am I, of all men in the world, so
 " stupid as not to perceive the great
 " difficulties attending that adoption?
 " Am I so short-sighted as not to fore-
 " see the turmoil which will arise in
 " consequence? Do I know so little
 " of mankind as not to be aware, that
 " he who inflicts present evil on a com-
 " parative few, is sure to find but weak
 " apologists in the many, on whom he
 " is bestowing future and permanent
 " good? Do I not know, that re-
 " proaches follow the knife of the sur-
 " geon, though it be necessary to the
 " saving of life? Can I behold in pros-
 " pect, as I do, as clearly as I behold
 " the paper on which I am writing,
 " swarms of clamorous pensioners, si-
 " necure people, retired-allowance peo-
 " ple, discarded commissioners, dead-
 " weight people, by thousands upon
 " thousands, growling fundholders, and
 " dependents of all these, swarming like
 " locusts upon the banks of the Nile,
 " and all directing a good share, at least,
 " of their reproaches towards me: can
 " I behold all this, and behold, at the
 " same time, the delivered, the freed,
 " the benefited, the happy nation, leav-
 " ing me to bear the reproaches as well
 " as I can: can I behold all this, and,
 " still possessing my senses, embark in
 " the perilous concern as on a party of
 " pleasure? Can I, who have lived all
 " my life as free as a bird in the woods;
 " who have never been thwarted in my
 " will by any-body, and who have never
 " had on my shoulders responsibility to
 " any living soul; who value not wealth;
 " who cannot gain a particle of fame;
 " who despise the very thought of pos-
 " sessing what are called honours and
 " dignities, and who would not pass one
 " evening amongst the guttlers and
 " gossippers and spitters and belchers
 " of the boozing-ken of Bellamy, even

"on condition of thereby adding five
 "years to the length of my life;
 "can I, for my own sake, sigh after a
 "seat in the Parliament?"

"Yet, what a fuss, what a contriving,
 "what a plotting, to keep me out of
 "hole of candle-light confusion, to sit
 "in which, more than one session by
 "candle-light, would demand a motive
 "much stronger than I can at this mo-
 "ment conceive! What an intriguing,
 "what a plotting, what a prosecuting,
 "by both the parties; and what terrible
 "calamities to this our country! And,
 "at once horrible and ludicrous as is
 "the thought, I verily believe that, at
 "last, both parties would *prefer a going*
 "*upon the rocks* to the seeing of me in
 "that Parliament, in which I do not
 "want to be, but to go into which I
 "will *never decline*, if any body of
 "electors shall freely, and of their own
 "accord, choose me to be the represen-
 "tative of their will; and in which
 "Parliament the nobility, if they had
 "had common sense, would have taken
 "care to have me long and long ago,
 "seeing that, while I would not have
 "suffered them to take one penny un-
 "justly out of the pockets of the peo-
 "ple, I would not have suffered them to
 "be despoiled by loan-mongers and
 "Jews; always having been convinced,
 "as I still am, that an aristocracy of
 "*title and of privilege*, when kept
 "within due and constitutional bounds,
 "brings none of that oppression upon
 "the working people which is always
 "brought upon them by a *damned*
 "*aristocracy of money*."

"Now, my Lord GREY, [the propo-
 "sitions were inserted just before this],
 "here, at any rate, there is nothing of
 "an *abstract* nature; nothing theoretic,
 "nothing dark, nothing *covert*. This
 "is what I would do, if I could have
 "my will; and if I were a member of
 "Parliament, and found that this, *the*
 "*whole* of this, could not be obtained
 "by the Parliament, I would quit the
 "concern as soon as I had ascertained
 "this to be the fact; as soon as I had
 "ascertained that the people had chosen
 "men not ready to do all this, or, at
 "least, as soon as I had ascertained that

"the people would again choose such
 "men. I would not consent to be the
 "representative of any body of persons
 "who would not pledge themselves
 "most solemnly to support me in my
 "endeavours to accomplish *all* this.
 "And, further, I would accept of the
 "post only on the condition that I
 "should be at liberty to vacate it if I
 "chose, at the end of one session, if the
 "Parliament continued the shameful
 "practice of sitting by *candle-light*, and
 "under the same roof where there are
 "an eating-house and a boozing-place.
 "I will never sit, for any length of time,
 "amongst 'legislators,' who drop in
 "one after another, or half a score at a
 "time, belching, and picking their teeth.
 "In such a scene, how can attention
 "and reflection exist? From such a
 "scene sober thought is excluded by
 "the laws of nature. From the fumes
 "of port and sherry and grog and brown
 "stout and tobacco, from the spattering
 "of the frying-pan and the hissing of
 "the gridiron, wisdom flees as men flee
 "from a pestilence. To account for so
 "great a country being brought to the
 "state in which this now is, after ages
 "will only want to be informed that its
 "legislators lounged away the morning
 "in bed, and held their deliberations in
 "the night-time, under the same roof
 "with a guttling and guzzling house,
 "and that, on an average, a fourth, or a
 "third, of them were eating or drink-
 "ing, at the very moment that laws
 "affecting the property, the liberty, the
 "life of millions were under discussion.
 "This is all that after-ages will want to
 "know about the causes that produced
 "a state of things such as that which
 "now exists in England. To a body of
 "men leading such lives and addicted
 "to such manners, no motive, not much
 "more powerful than I can have an idea
 "of, would induce me to belong any
 "longer than the time sufficient to en-
 "able me to ascertain that no change
 "in their manners was to be reasonably
 "expected. So that the renowned OLD
 "SERJEANT need not be very uneasy
 "about the danger to be apprehended
 "from my being in Parliament. Those
 "who have the power of choosing

" members of Parliament generally look
 " for a *little coaxing*; and none will
 " anybody ever get from me. It will
 " be *service* for me to bestow, and not
 " a *favour* for me to receive. I have,
 " with the rest of the people, an interest
 " in the general happiness of the nation;
 " but I have none but a common inter-
 " est; and there is no moral obligation
 " on me to submit, for the sake of the
 " general good, to endure the breath of
 " the belchers from Bellamy's, who
 " have, I am told, even a '*smoking*
 " *room*!' All this must be changed, or
 " there can be *no good* arise from reform.
 " At any rate, it *shall* be changed, or I
 " will have nothing to do with it for
 " more than *one session*. So that, again
 " I say, OLD SERJEANT BEST may make
 " himself pretty easy on *account of me*."

Such, gentlemen, were my sentiments upon this important subject, and such they remain. I repeat that it would be great glory for me to be chosen a member for Manchester, but that that glory does not in my mind weigh as a single feather, when compared with the weight which it would give me in my endeavours to effect those objects which are described in the propositions which I have read to you this evening. Manchester includes, in its own name, in the opinions of the rest of the kingdom, not only all the industrious part of Lancashire, but extends itself into parts of other counties. It is the centre of them all. The word Manchester means industry, English industry, ingenuity, and opulence. To have my name go over the world coupled with that of Manchester, would be great glory indeed; and so great that the best efforts of the remainder of my life, even if successful, would be no more than enough to merit such reward. But I most solemnly declare to you, gentlemen, that great as the honour would be, proud as I should be of it, great as would be the triumph that it would give me over more numerous and more malignant foes than man ever had before to encounter; it would not give me a thousandth part of the satisfaction which I should derive from the certainty that it would give me much greater weight than I could

derive from being chosen for any other place in the kingdom. Westminster, with a vastly superior population, I consider a mere nothing compared to Manchester: it is a mass of drones and wasps got together, to swallow up the honey collected by the industrious bees: it is a heap of rabble, and of court sycophants: a swarm of loungers at clubs and gaming-houses, collected together, as it were, for the express purpose of devouring the fortunes of skilful and industrious masters, and the earnings of their work-people. The city of London is, in itself, what it always was, a place for the deposit of wealth, and for the reception and the circulating of goods; its inhabitants, indeed, pretty well corrupted by the crapulous crowds which the taxes have drawn together in its environs, and by the swarms of Jews that carry on their usurious traffic in its centre. The city of London, however, is a great commercial city, as it always was, and always will be; but the West-end of the town, as they call it, is at once the great corrupter of the nation, and the great devourer of the fruit of its toils. Millions upon millions of the hard earnings of the people have been drawn thither to be wasted on objects of mere show, and thrown away, scattered about with such profusion, and with such an abuse of all good taste, as to make it rational in me to believe that the squanderers have had no other object in view than that of wasting the substance of the people, and that of collecting together swarms of the most degraded, and, at the same time, most insolent and prostituted wretches that ever disgraced the human shape. Mr. Edmund Grundy, who lives at Bury, in this county, and who, being in London, last spring, and having been to take a look at what is called the House of Commons, saw, during the short time that he was present in the gallery, 60,000*l.* of the public money voted to widen and ornament some street in Westminster, at which he was greatly astonished, seeing that, in Lancashire, the towns themselves, by local taxes or collections, paid for works of this sort carried on within their precincts. Mr.

Grundy and I, being compelled to work for that which we possess, had not leisure for the purpose, or I could have taken him, in the course of half an hour, and shown him how at least ten millions of the nation's money had been wasted in a similar manner. And will these industrious towns send to a reformed Parliament one single man who will not pledge himself most distinctly to put a stop to this prodigal waste of the people's earnings? If one single man be sent from any of these towns without such pledge, the people of that town will deserve never again to behold days of prosperity.

Gentlemen, I have heard it said, that Manchester, being a commercial town, ought to choose none but *commercial men* as its representatives in Parliament. If the Parliament were intended for no other purpose than that of ascertaining what would be best for Manchester, relative to the importation of cotton and silk, and the exportation of cotton and silk goods, and what regulations would be best, relative to the use of machinery, of coals, and of engines; if, in short, the Parliament were to be merely a chamber of commerce, then, men brought up and engaged in commerce all their lives might be the most proper to represent Manchester. But, as the prosperity, as the well-being, of this great town, is, and always must be, completely inseparable from those of the nation at large; and as it requires, in order to determine that which is best for the whole, a thorough knowledge of all those relationships which bind the interests of one part of the kingdom to that of all the rest; as laws will have to be passed, affecting every part of the people, from the lord in his mansion down to the labourer in his cottage, it does appear to me that there is very little weight to be given to the opinion, which points out commercial men, as being the only men fit to represent great commercial towns. As far as my observation has gone, experience by no means speaks in favour of this opinion. In the city of London I have the honour to be represented by four commercial men; and I do not happen to know any

four other members of Parliament, with whose services I think the city of London could more conveniently dispense. However, against one thing I beseech the people of these towns to guard themselves, and that is, the choosing of men of such amiable facility as to be easily seduced from their duty by blandishment. Many a man of perfect honesty, of perfectly good intentions, and of real public spirit into the bargain, has been rendered a mere tool in the hands of the Ministry, or of the other party, by appeals well made to his vanity. He means well, goes with a resolution to be firm, even anticipates the heartfelt applause of his constituents as the reward of his fidelity to his trust, gets clapped down at dinner between an earl and a duke; or, if his virtue be of an extremely stubborn kind, by the side of a lord's daughter, or, if the wife be handsomer, by the side of the lady herself. In an instant the lights dance before him; his brain swims; he looks back to the town that has sent him, as a rich manufacturer looks back to the clogs which he wore when he was a boy; away goes all his resolution; and, though he become not an absolute rogue, he becomes of no more use to his constituents than if he were a man cut out of wood.

Once more, to speak of myself and of my views as to this matter, I repeat to you, Gentlemen, that, were I to consult my own private taste, my own private feelings and pleasure, I should decline serving in Parliament even for this famous town; and I again most positively declare, that nothing shall induce me to sit for more than two sessions by candle-light, and that I will not pledge myself to sit by that light for more than one session. It is impossible that an assembly keeping such hours, even if consisting of wise and upright men, should produce good works. As a strong instance in confirmation of this opinion, suffer me to relate to you what took place in the AMERICAN CONGRESS (when I was last in America) in consequence of *candle-light legislation*. In 1817, the war had broken out between the Spanish Colonies in South America and the King of Spain; and the United States had

passed an act, which they called an act of *neutrality*. This act had just been promulgated when I (fleeing from the dungeons that Sidmouth and Castle-reagh had prepared for the reformers) arrived in LONG ISLAND. Upon hearing the complaints, relative to this act, of some of the Spanish revoltors, I read it, and found, that, instead of its being an act of *neutrality*, it was an act of great partiality against the Colonies, which I reprobated with great severity, especially as it came from a country who boasted of that *independence* which it had acquired, and so recently too, by revolting against its own King. The paper, containing these just reproaches, was sent to be published, and was published, in the *Register* in England; but, at the same time, it was *published in New York*, because I would not say any-thing of the Americans that I did not say to their face. Now, observe, it had always been, and still was, the practice of the Congress to sit from nine o'clock in the morning to three in the afternoon. When the Congress met, in November, I having written about this act in the previous month of July, the very first subject that they took in hand was a *revision of this Act of Neutrality*; and a bill was brought in by Mr. CLAY to alter and amend that act; and this gentleman, in moving for leave to bring in the bill, said, that the House would be aware that the error had been pointed out by a celebrated Englishman then in the United States, who might with propriety, perhaps, have spoken of it in terms less harsh; but that his censure of the act, however unnecessarily severe, form no ground for not at once correcting the error, and thereby doing justice to the Spanish colonies. The bill was brought in and quickly passed; but, Gentlemen, that which is worthy of your particular attention is this; that Mr. CLAY stated, as an apology for the error, that the act was passed on the last day of the session, and, on account of the press of business, was passed *at ten o'clock at night!*

All the world knows, that the morning is the time for all matters of importance; that the mind is then serene, if it

ever be; that it is then unclouded by heavy food and muddling drink; that it is then, if ever, fit to be employed in the making of laws; that is to say, in the performance of things affecting the happiness of millions. When a man undertakes a duty like this, those whom he represents are entitled to his *best hours*. The present hours were resorted to in order to accommodate lawyers, clerks in office, merchants, and bankers, who want the prime of the day for themselves and their own private affairs, and who give to their constituents only that part which they have to lounge away. All this must be changed, or the reform will bring no good to the nation; and, as far as I am concerned, Gentlemen, *it shall be changed*: for I will never sit, at most, more than two sessions amongst men who debate by candle-light, and who have a guttling and a guzzling place under the same roof that covers the scene of their discussions. This is my firm determination. If I quit my pleasant course of life, it shall be for the purpose of accomplishing some *great good for my country*. My career has been long, and always brilliant, and brilliant it shall be to the last. On the first of January, the day after the close of these lectures, I shall have published a *Register* every week for *thirty years*, with the exception of the six weeks that it took to carry me across the Atlantic (out of the reach of Sidmouth) and the six weeks that it took to bring the first *Register* from Long Island to England. I, last January, expressed my intention to *close* this publication at the end of 1832; being resolved, that my light shall never go out twinkling in the socket; being resolved, that the last number shall want no part of the spirit that marked the first. Judge you, then, Gentlemen, whether I be a man to set any, even the smallest, value on a *mere seat* in Parliament! Judge you, whether I be a man voluntarily, and with my eyes open, to sink quietly down into that insignificant thing called an "*honourable gentleman*," sitting beside the "*gallant officer*" or the "*worthy alderman*." Judge you, whether I be made of vulgar stuff like this! Oh,

no! Gentlemen of Manchester, great though I should deem the glory of having my name associated and sent through the world, coupled with that of this renowned hive of industry, not even that would I accept of unaccompanied with the assurance of being able to perform some great and memorable good for my country, and especially for its laborious millions; and, as I can have no such assurance; as I can have no such hope, unless those who choose me be ready to pledge themselves to stand by and support me in my endeavours to effect the purposes that I have so fully and so frankly stated to you, on that pledge being given or withheld, will depend whether I shall have that great honour, which is the only thing that could be a compensation for the labours that the task would impose upon me.

A PRETTY TRANSACTION.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Dec. 9, 1831.

"Mr. Alderman VENABLES asked "whether the prosecution which had "been instituted against a house in "the silk trade, *had been continued* "or not?

"The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said, that "his right hon. Friend, to whom it "properly belonged to answer that "question, was not present, but he "thought he might take upon himself "to give an answer to the hon. Gentleman. The prosecution to which "the hon. Member had alluded, was a "prosecution for penalties for evading "the payment of the duty on silk. "There were others, but one alone was "about to be brought to trial, when it "was compromised for a sum of 20,000*l.* "He believed that that sum was the "largest the Government had ever received from such a prosecution. "There were goods to be taken back, "which might possibly amount to "5,000*l.* So that the offending parties "would have to pay a sum of 15,000*l.*, "which was sufficient to make them "suffer severely enough not to repeat "the offence.

"Mr. Alderman VENABLES wished to "put one more question, which he did "at the request of the silk trade generally. They wished to know for "what particular reasons the compromise was effected? for they felt very strongly that it was the most injudicious course to compromise such actions.

"The ATTORNEY-GENERAL was bound "to state that this matter had come "into his hands *without instructions* or "restrictions as to what he was or "was not to do. He believed that in "the pledge spoken of, his right hon. Friend only intended that the case "should be brought into court, to be there "dealt with as might be proper; and so far there had been no violation of the "pledge. Now the fact was, that if "every-thing could have been proved, "the penalties could only have amounted to 20,000*l.* (Hear, hear!) The "compromise, therefore, was only for a "sum of 5,000*l.* less than might have "been obtained had every-thing been "fully proved against the parties.

"Mr. Alderman VENABLES was bound "to say, that Government had on this "occasion obtained a more satisfactory "settlement of the prosecution than had "ever before been obtained; but the "objection to any compromise still existed.

"Sir R. PEEL said, that as this case "had excited a great deal of attention, "he thought it would be of advantage "if the papers connected with it were "laid on the table. Those papers would "show the way in which the duties had "been originally evaded, and they would "inflict that punishment which the compromise had enabled the guilty parties "to avoid, but which was the most effective that could be employed against "them—he meant the punishment of "publicity. (Hear, hear, hear!) If the "compromise was effected, as he supposed it was, before the trial, of course "there could have been no publication "of the circumstances of the case, and "the disgrace attendant on such a publication was wanting to complete "that punishment which, without it, "would be hardly sufficient to prevent

"parties from being guilty of the same offence.

"Lord ALTHORP, who spoke in a very low tone, was understood to say that the object of the parties in this case, in agreeing to a compromise for so large a penalty, was perhaps chiefly with the view of avoiding the additional punishment of publication, otherwise he agreed with the right hon. Baronet in the principle, that every publication ought to be given to the circumstances of the case, since it was the object of the Government to prevent the recurrence of such offences.

Ah! old George Rose, we thought that we never should look upon thy like again! Well, old George, thou art gone to be sure, and God knows whither; but thou hast left thy . . . mantle, oh no! but, as the Scotch call the skin of the snake, thou hast cast thy slough, and left it to this "*Corinthian pillar!*" What! give 5,000*l.* of silk back to the criminals! But I must return to this scandalous transaction. In the meanwhile, I want information as to the names of these robbers of poor silk-manufacturers. Merciful Whigs! You did not, and do not, think of mercy to Mr. CARPENTER, who offended against your revenue laws, and who is now in your jail for life, unless released by a Reformed Parliament. And DENMAN took it upon himself, then, did he! But this affair must not drop here.

HORRID ENGLISH MURDERS.

WE have heard much of the "*march of mind,*" of the "*improvements of the age,*" and of the "*schoolmaster being abroad;*" we have endless accounts of the brilliant exploits of the "*School and Bible Societies;*" and we Protestants are called upon to bless God for our liberation from the superstition against which the virtues of our barbarous forefathers had to struggle for existence! Base insolence! One of our improvements is, the causing to exist, openly and unpunished, receptacles for the receiving of dead human bodies, without any proof

of whether they have been murdered or not. We have laws to punish any one who has the dead body of a hare in his possession, without being able to prove that he came by it lawfully; we have laws for this purpose, and most severe laws too; but, for the life and soul of our enlightened legislators, they cannot put together a law for punishing those who have dead human bodies in their possession, whether those bodies have been murdered, or stolen from the grave! I have not time for much on this subject to-day; but I must insert the following (from a Police magistrate), addressed to, and published by, the MORNING CHRONICLE, of Monday, the 12th instant.

"To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

"SIR—Having dined yesterday with some of my brother magistrates, I learned, upon information which I have no reason to distrust, that beside the confessions published, another was made on Sunday last, which comprehended a catalogue of about sixty murders, and would have probably gone on to a much greater extent, but for the interference of the ordinary. When to this is added the large supply which, by the published confessions, Bishop appears to have furnished for dissection, the great number of persons employed in the same way, the probable profligacy of such persons, and, as asserted, a great falling off in the number of burials, notwithstanding the increased population of this metropolis, there is certainly but too much reason to believe that this system of murder amongst the poor, which Bishop said he resorted to as both less expensive and less hazardous than collecting from cemeteries, is become extremely common, that it is in a state of progression, and that new and extraordinary modes, however inconvenient to the professors and students of anatomy, MUST BE HAD RECOURSE TO, FOR THE PREVENTION OF SUCH ATROCIOUS CRIMES.

"J. SEWELL.

"21, Cumberland-street,
Portman-square, Dec. 8."

The "new and extraordinary mode" ought to be to HANG those who have dead bodies, or parts of dead bodies, in their possession, unless able to prove the possession to have been sanctioned by the sentence of a court of justice, or by the last will of the party whose dead body is found in possession. This is the mode, and the only mode. Not so, however, thinks Doctor BLACK, whose unfeeling, and, indeed, stupid, mind lets him see no remedy for these murders

but in another "DEAD-BODY BILL." Hear him, indignant reader.

The three wretches concerned in the murder of the poor Italian boy have been found guilty, and are ordered for execution on Monday next. Who knows how many other poor creatures have been destroyed by them! The evidence as to one other case seems complete. If rich people were liable to be burked, the *wants of anatomical science* would have been provided for long ago, without affording an incentive to murder. Had the child of a Lord been one of the victims of Burke, at Edinburgh, all other Lords would have taken the alarm, and an *Act of Parliament* would have soon followed. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to carry off the children of Lords, and easy to deprive the poor of their children; and, therefore, Lords, knowing, of courses that the subjects must be provided, that the difficulty of procuring causes high prices, and high prices tempt the worthless men employed to procure them by murder—which is easier and safer than disinterment,—instead of providing against this monstrous evil, endeavoured to inflame the prejudices of the poor. It is affirmed by physiologists, that life may be destroyed so as to leave no trace of the act. Anatomists may be able to detect murder when violence has been used, as in the case of the Italian boy; but when no violence has been used, how can they tell that the subject has been unfairly obtained? There is no difficulty in obtaining subjects in France—none in Germany—none in Italy—and there need be no difficulty in England. Let the bodies of those WHO DIE IN WORKHOUSES and HOSPITALS [Oh! base fecesifer!] whose relations do not claim them for burial, be MADE AVAILABLE for the purposes of anatomy. To this remedy we must come, or the schools of the anatomists must be closed, or burking will be continued. So long as ten guineas can be obtained, with less danger by burking than by burglary, burking will be preferred by the criminal.

It is useless to stamp and swear! The cold-blooded fellow would only draw his high cheek bones awry and sneer. I will in a week or two address a letter to the chopsticks on the subject; to them who are now paying part of their hard-earned pennies into CLUBS, to pay for watching the graves of their deceased relations! I will make the Doctor, body and soul, over to them.

OUR COLONIES.

When ADDINGTON was Prime Minister, I published some verses on him, in which was this:

"The Doctor, in every thing, equally wise!"

Which verses, only changing *Cholera Morbus* for *La Gripe*, would apply, with equal force, to this Whig Ministry. They are not only wise generally; but in every thing: no matter what it is, it is all the same to them; whether it be catching incendiaries by the legs, protecting the freedom of the press, impartially enforcing the Revenue-Laws, promoting emigration, no matter what, great they are in every thing, but in nothing, as will presently appear, greater than in governing colonies. I beg the reader's best attention to the following letter, and more especially to the curious and deeply-interesting MEMORIAL which follows it. Let the merchants in England especially, read these documents with attention. Let them see what sort of attention a governor pays to Colonists: let them read his laconic answer to this able and important memorial, which answer, for God only knows why, he calls "an APPOINTMENT." If the evil were not of such serious consequences, one would find in this mode of governing, everlasting food for laughter. Oh, no! reader: if you find it prudent to emigrate, if you do not wish to exchange the frying-pan for the fire, go to no colony, go the United States, or stay where you are.

"Berbice, 25th Sept. 1831.

"SIR,

"In several of your late Registers, Mr. Cobbett, you have, with your unrivalled ability and zeal, clearly pointed out to the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the absurdity of quitting their country at all; and more especially the very great folly of going to British colonies, governed by orders in council, through the agency of superannuated General officers, or such-like of the Ministers. As incontrovertible proof of the soundness of your advice, I enclose you a memorial of the people of Demerara to Sir B. d'Urban, the Governor of the colony, and his appointment, or answer, thereon, and if, after reading this document throughout, any sane man should for one moment doubt the correctness of your views on the subject of emigration, there is then no such thing as

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“demonstration. I send you six ears of
 “Indian corn, the common corn of this
 “country, which, I think, will ripen
 “well and early in your climate. It is,
 “however, very subject to worm; and
 “I doubt whether it will get to you in
 “the perfect state which it now is; but
 “some of it you might get to grow;
 “and it may prove a better sort than
 “the one so successfully and beneficially
 “introduced by you into England, and
 “which, had it been introduced into the
 “country by the Peels, or any of that
 “gentry, the poor English tax-payers
 “would have been saddled with a pen-
 “sion, to him and his brats to the tenth
 “generation, of at least one thousand
 “per annum. But verily you will have
 “your reward in the blessings of mil-
 “lions of people to all posterity. I had
 “almost forgot to state, that the time,
 “from the day the corn was planted to
 “the day it was gathered, was ninety
 “days. I have reckoned the number of
 “grains upon one of the ears, which
 “you will find to be six hundred and
 “forty. No ear of your corn, I find by
 “your book, contained more than three
 “hundred grains.

“I have just had sent to me the De-
 “merara *Gazette*, with the proclamation
 “of Sir B. d'Urban, by which our law-
 “courts and laws secured to us by Act
 “of Capitulation, have been at once set
 “aside, and up to this day no other
 “court established in their stead. We
 “are literally without law or courts al-
 “together—a blessed state certainly!
 “What a state to place a colony! Have
 “the goodness, Sir, to show up these
 “Whigs in their proper colours; for you
 “are, beyond all doubt, the only man
 “who can do the thing right well.

“I am, Sir,

“Your most obedient servant.”

Memorial of the Committee appointed at a
 Public Meeting of the Colonists of Demerara
 and Essequibo, held at the Colony-house,
 in Georgetown, Demerara, on the 29th
 of July, 1831, to his Excellency Sir B.
 d'Urban, K. C. B., &c., Governor of British
 Guiana, &c. &c. &c.

To his Excellency Major-General Sir
 Benjamin d'Urban, Knight Commander
 of the Most Honourable Military Order
 of the Bath, of the Royal Guelphic
 Order, and of the Portuguese Royal
 Military Order of the Tower and Sword,
 Governor and Commander-in-Chief in
 and over the Colony of British Guiana,
 &c. &c. &c.

The memorial of the Committee appointed
 at a public meeting of the colonists of Demerara
 and Essequibo, held at the Colony-house
 in Georgetown, Demerara, on the 29th July,
 1831, by permission of his Excellency the
 Governor,

RESPECTFULLY SHOWETH,

That in approaching your Excellency upon
 a subject so vitally important to the best in-
 terests of the colonists at large, your memo-
 rialists firmly assert, that there exist not in the
 wide extent of his Majesty's dominions, sub-
 jects more truly loyal and devoted to his Ma-
 jesty and his illustrious house, than the colo-
 nists of Demerara and Essequibo.

That, imbued with every sense of loyalty to
 his Majesty, and respect to your Excellency,
 your memorialists take leave to lay before
 your Excellency, as the representative of Ma-
 jesty, the grievances and sufferings under
 which they peculiarly labour at the present
 moment.

That on the 21st day of July just past,
 your Excellency was pleased to publish, or
 cause to be published, a proclamation, where-
 by, amongst other things, it was declared,
 “that you had received from his Majesty's
 Government the therein following order of his
 Majesty in Council, and that the same was
 thereby published for general information.”

That for the purposes of this memorial, it is
 unnecessary to set forth the whole of the said
 order in council; yet, nevertheless, the pas-
 sages to be transcribed, in consequence of their
 importance, are such as to induce your me-
 morialists to crave, in the first instance, your
 Excellency's patience and attention.

That passing over that part of the preamble
 of the said order in council, by which is ob-
 tained the conclusion, that it was fit that the
 courts of criminal and civil justice in Demerara
 and Essequibo (amongst others) should
 thenceforth be holden by persons of competent
 legal education—“It was therefore ordered
 by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and
 with the advice of his Privy Council, that
 thenceforth the Court of Criminal and Civil
 Justice of Demerara and Essequibo, and the
 Court of Civil Justice and the Court of Criminal
 Justice of Berbice, and the Court for the Trial
 of Criminal Prosecutions, and the Court of
 First Instance of Civil Jurisdiction in the island
 of Trinidad, and the Royal Court of Saint
 Lucia, should be respectively holden by, and
 before three Judges, and no more—that is to
 say, each of the said courts should be holden
 by and before the President for the time being
 of the Court of Criminal and Civil Justice of
 Demerara and Essequibo, and the Chief Jus-

tice for the time being for Trinidad, and the First President for the time being of the Royal Court of Saint Lucia, or by and before the persons who, during the vacancy of any such offices, or during the absence or temporary incapacity of any of the said Judges, might have received a provisional or temporary appointment to act as, and in the place and stead of any such Judges or Judge.

"And it was further ordered—That for the purpose of holding the respective courts aforesaid, the said Judges should, from time to time, repair to the said respective colonies of Trinidad, Demerara, Berbice, and Saint Lucia.

"And it was further ordered—That two sessions, at the least, should be holden in each year of each of the said courts; and that the times of holding such sessions in such respective colonies, and the duration thereof in each, should be determined by proclamations to be, from time to time, for that purpose issued in the said respective colonies by the respective governors thereof.

"And it was further ordered—That the governors of the said respective colonies should, and they were thereby authorised to arrange with each other the times of holding such sessions as aforesaid, in such manner as might best promote the administration of justice therein, and the common convenience of the said respective colonies.

"And it was further ordered—That in each of the said courts the said three Judges should, in all civil cases, have, possess, exercise, and enjoy such and the same jurisdiction, powers, and authority in the every respect as the then present Judges of the said courts then had, or lawfully possessed, exercised, or enjoyed; and that the decision of the majority of such three Judges should, in all civil cases at any time depending in either of the said courts, be taken and adjudged to be, and should be recorded as the judgment of the whole court.

"That it was further ordered—That upon the trial of any persons or person in any of the said courts for any crime or offence with which they, he, or she might be charged, three assessors should be appointed to the said three Judges, in the manner thereafter provided for—which assessors should be entitled to deliberate and vote with such Judges upon the final judgment to be pronounced in every such criminal case; and no person should be convicted of any crime or offence, or adjudged to suffer any punishment, by any judgment or sentence of any of the said courts, unless a majority of the total number of such Judges and assessors should, in open court, vote in favour of such judgment or sentence.

"And it was further ordered—That in each of the said courts, the said three Judges and assessors should, in all criminal cases, have, possess, exercise, and enjoy such and the same jurisdiction, powers, and authority in every respect as the then present Judges of the said courts then had, or lawfully possessed, exercised, or enjoyed; and that the decision of the majority of the total number of such

Judges and assessors should, in all criminal cases, at any time depending in any of the said courts, be taken and adjudged to be, and should be recorded as the judgment of the whole court.

"And it was further ordered—That the governor of each of the said colonies should, by proclamations to be by him, from time to time, for that purpose issued within the same, make and prescribe such rules and regulations as might be necessary to determine the qualifications of such assessors, the mode of convening them, the penalties to be inflicted on persons refusing to act as such assessors when thereunto lawfully required, and the mode of challenging such assessors, and what should be the lawful ground of challenge, and how the validity of any such challenge should be determined, together with every other matter and thing which might be necessary to the effective discharge by such assessors of the duty thereby committed to them; and every such proclamation should forthwith be transmitted by such governor for his Majesty's approbation, and, should, in the mean time, and unless disallowed by his Majesty, and until such disallowance should be made known to such governor, be of the same force and effect as if the same had been contained in that present order.

"And it was further ordered—That during the absence of any of the said Judges from the colony to which he might belong for the purpose of holding such sessions as aforesaid, the Supreme Court of such colony should be holden by a single Judge, to be called the Vice-President of such court; and it should be the duty of such the Vice-President to hear and determine all such interlocutory matters arising in or upon any civil or criminal suit, action, or proceeding, depending in the said court as might be brought before him; and also to inquire into, and report to the said Judges in any such sessions as aforesaid, upon any questions which might, by such Judges at such their sessions, have been specially referred to any such Vice-President; and in the exercise of such jurisdiction, such Vice-President should, and he was thereby required to conform himself to, and observe such general rules or orders of court as might be made for his guidance in the manner thereafter mentioned.

"And it was further ordered and declared—That it should be lawful for the said supreme courts, respectively, to review, reverse, correct, or confirm, as occasion might require, any judgment, sentence, rule, or order, which might be made, given or pronounced by any such Vice-President as aforesaid, in the exercise of the jurisdiction thereby vested in him; and that in the exercise of such jurisdiction, such Vice President should act alone, and without any colleague or assessor, and should have all such and the same powers and authority in that behalf, as then were or was vested in the said courts respectively for the said respective purposes.

"And it was further ordered—That it should, and might be, lawful for the Judges of the said courts respectively, and they were thereby authorised and required, to make and establish such rules, orders, and regulations, as to them should seem meet, concerning the form and manner of proceeding to be observed in the said courts respectively, and the practice and pleadings in all actions, suits, and other matters, both civil and criminal to be therein brought, and concerning the duties and jurisdiction of the said respective Vice-Presidents, and concerning the duties and jurisdiction of the executive and ministerial officers of the said courts respectively, and concerning the process of the said courts, and the mode of executing the same, and concerning the admission of advocates, barristers, attorneys, solicitors, notaries, and proctors, in the said courts respectively, and concerning all other matters and things which relate to the conduct and dispatch of business in the said respective courts, and all such rules, orders, and regulations, from time to time, to revoke, alter, amend, or renew, as occasion might require: Provided always, that no such rules, orders, or regulations should be repugnant to that present order, and that the same should be formed as to promote, as far as might be, economy and expedition in the dispatch of the business of the courts respectively; and that the same should be drawn up in plain, succinct, and compendious terms, avoiding all unnecessary repetitions and obscurity, and be promulgated in the most public and authentic manner in the colonies to which the same might respectively refer, for fourteen days at least, before the same should be binding and take effect therein; and provided also that all such rules, orders, and regulations, should forthwith be transmitted to his Majesty, under the seal of the court, by the governor for the time being of such colony, for his approbation or disallowance.

"And it was therefore further ordered—That it should be lawful for the governor of each of the said colonies respectively, with the advice of the Court of Policy of the said colony of British Guiana, and with the advice of the said council of Government in the said colonies of Trinidad and St. Lucia, by any laws and ordinances to be from time to time made for that purpose, to erect, constitute, and establish courts, having jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases within the said respective colonies, provided that the jurisdiction of such civil courts should not be extended to any case wherein the sum, or matter in dispute, should exceed the amount or value of twenty pounds, sterling money, or wherein the title to any lands or tenements, or the title of any person to his, or her freedom, or any fee, duty, or office, might be in question, or whereby rights in future might exist and be bound; and provided also that the jurisdiction of such courts in criminal cases, should not be extended to any case wherein any person might be accused

of any crime, punishable by death, transportation, or banishment; and that it should not be lawful for any such criminal court to inflict any greater or other punishment than imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding three months, or a fine not exceeding twenty pounds, or whipping not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or any two or more such punishments within the limits aforesaid.

"And it was further ordered—That the Judges of the said *supreme courts*, of the said colonies respectively, should, and they were thereby authorised to make, ordain, and establish, all necessary rules, orders, or regulations respecting the manner and form of proceeding to be observed in the said petty courts, and respecting the manner and form of carrying the judgments and orders of such courts into execution, with all such other rules, orders, and regulations, as might be necessary for the giving full and perfect effect to the jurisdiction of such courts respectively, and such rules, orders, and regulations, from time to time, to revoke, alter, and renew, as occasion should require.

"And it thereby was further ordered—That all orders theretofore made by his Majesty, or by any of his royal predecessors, in his, or their Privy Council, and all laws, customs, and usages, then, or at any time theretofore, established or in force in any of the said colonies so far as such orders, laws, or usages, were in anywise repugnant to, or at variance with, that present order, should be, and the same were thereby revoked, abrogated, rescinded, and annulled."

That tedious and prolix as the preceding recital may appear, it has nevertheless been considered necessary, in order to draw your Excellency's attention to the peculiar situation in which the colonists are placed.

That protesting most solemnly against this memorial, or any of the matters, or things, herein contained, being construed into an abandonment or waiver of the rights of the colonists, to use all lawful ways and means to combat the doctrine, that an order in council, published and proclaimed in this colony by the sole authority of your Excellency, has the force and effect of law herein, your memorialists, nevertheless, yield to the urgent necessity of the case, and under the benefit of such protest proceed—

At the time, and immediately preceding the publication of said order in council, there existed in the united colony of Demerara and Essequibo a court of criminal justice, having jurisdiction over all crimes and offences—there also existed a court of Civil Justice of a wide jurisdiction, extending over all possible cases arising between subject and subject, except those peculiarly belonging to the Commissary Court, a court of inferior jurisdiction having authority to determine, in the first instance, all causes under six hundred guilders, and exclusive jurisdiction in all matters of transport and transfer of landed property,

mortgages thereon, and Acts of Ondertrouw and contracts of marriage.

In these courts, the existence of which was coeval with the colonies themselves, and which received their modified form since the year 1774, improvements might have been introduced, but it was certainly unwise prematurely to annihilate them before erecting others in lieu thereof.

Referring your Excellency to those parts of the order in council herein recited, it will be perceived that on the very instant that that order in council was proclaimed and published, the criminal and civil courts of this colony, theretofore existing, were annulled and abolished.

Again referring your Excellency to the order in council, it will be found that the authorities, by which the practice and manner of proceeding to be used in these courts are to be formed and established, are not yet within the boundaries of your Excellency's Government.

In the first place, your Excellency, and the Governor of Trinidad, and the Governor of St. Lucia, are authorised to arrange with each other the times of holding the sessions of the Supreme Court.

In the second place, two sessions of each of the said courts of each colony shall be holden in each year.

In the third place, courts of civil justice shall be respectively holden by, and before, three Judges and no more—that is to say, before the President of the Court of Criminal and Civil Justice of Demerara and Essequibo, the chief Judge of Trinidad, and the First President, for the time being, of the Royal Court of St. Lucia—and the courts of Criminal Justice, before the same three Judges and three assessors.

In the fourth place, the Judges of the said courts respectively shall make and establish the rules, orders, and regulations, concerning the forms and manner of proceeding to be observed in the said courts respectively, and the practice and pleadings in all actions, suits, and other matters, both civil and criminal, to be therein brought, and concerning the duties and jurisdiction of the said respective Vice-Presidents, and concerning the proceedings of the executive and ministerial officers of the said courts respectively, and concerning the process of the said courts, and the mode of executing the same.

In the fifth place, when such rules and regulations shall have been made, it will be necessary that the same shall be promulgated, in the manner prescribed in the order in council, for fourteen days at least, before the same shall be binding and take effect.

In the sixth place, by the said order, power and authority are granted to the Court of Policy to establish petty courts; but the rules, orders, or regulations respecting the manner and form of proceeding to be observed in the said petty courts, and respecting the manner and form of carrying the judgments and orders of such

courts into execution, with all such other rules, orders, and regulations as may be necessary for giving full and perfect effect to the jurisdiction of such courts respectively, shall be made, ordained, and established by the Judges of the said supreme courts of the said colonies respectively.

A perusal of the six foregoing abstracts from the order in council will convince your Excellency of the absence from the colony at present of all power or authority competent to carry into effect the said order in council.

Your Excellency must arrange with two Governors of distinct islands, before the session of any court can be appointed,—it need scarcely be observed, that the distance between the three respective governments, and the impediments to communication, unless the three governors should meet in any one Government, will naturally produce great delay, and that the powers delegated to three jointly, cannot be exercised by your Excellency alone.

The Supreme Court of Civil Justice shall be holden before three Judges, and no more,—those three Judges being specially defined to be the President of the courts of Demerara and Essequibo, the Chief Judge of Trinidad, and the First President of the Royal Court of Saint Lucia; and the Court of Criminal Justice before the same three Judges, with the association of three assessors. In like predicament, to the first point, stands this:—The Chief Judge of Trinidad and the First President of Saint Lucia, have not only not arrived in this colony, but it is doubtful whether they, or either of them, are within the western hemisphere; for, of the arrival of the one from England to assume his office in Trinidad, no information has yet been received; and it is certain that the First President of Saint Lucia not long ago left that island for England, expecting to return. As your Excellency alone cannot exercise the powers delegated to you and the other two governors, so neither can his Honour the President of the Courts here alone legally perform or discharge the duties entrusted jointly to him and to the two other Judges or Presidents.

Although the Court of Policy has been authorised to establish within the colony petty courts, both of criminal and civil jurisdiction, yet (without entering into the question of the Court of Policy, as at present existing, having the power to act therein), it must be observed, that the mode and manner of proceeding before such petty courts, are to be framed by the same Judges who are authorised to frame the orders, rules, and regulations which shall govern the proceedings of the Supreme Court.

It cannot fail to be remarked that until the rules, orders, and regulations concerning the forms and manner of proceeding, to be observed in the said courts respectively, shall have been made and established by the persons authorised and required so to do, there cannot be a single legal process instituted within this colony, nor can those instituted and pending be progressed in one step.

With respect to the impossibility of instituting, under existing circumstances, a legal process or suit, the appointment of a precise and particular day to the defendant to appear, is as necessary in every summons or citation as that of having a person or defendant against whom to direct such process. If before a court, already legally constituted, there exists the necessity for appointing a precise or particular day of appearance, how great must the necessity be to have a court before which such an appearance is to be made! Circumstanced as the colonists are, however, their old courts declared to be abolished, new ones promised, but not erected, your memorialists cannot but arrive at the conclusion, that there is not at present in the colony any court having any the least judicial authority.—Such, your Excellency, is the situation in which the colonists are unhappily placed—the consequences of such a situation must be, and are, obvious; but that the colonists may not again incur the censure to which they have been repeatedly subjected—that they cannot be aggrieved because they complain not, your memorialists conceive it their duty to bring to the notice of your Excellency some few of the ruinous effects of this extraordinary state of things.

The effects in regard to criminal justice, are, that, with the exception of arrests and commitments by the fiscal, there is no proceeding extant.

The effects with regard to civil justice, are immediate and mediate.

The immediate are these—

That there can be no transport passed, consequently no transfer of immovable property with title.

That no mortgage or other security on real property can be granted, received, or cancelled.

That no Act of Ondertrouw can be passed, or marriage contract entered into, by any parties howsoever competent to pass such act or enter into such contract.

That no arrest, or other provision of justice, can be sued out or issued without subjecting the plaintiff to the danger of having his proceedings hereafter declared illegal, and himself condemned to make good the consequences of such illegal proceeding,—and that hence in the event of a fraudulent debtor, being about to leave the colony, his creditor must either submit to the loss of his debt, or incur the risk of damages for the attempt to secure himself by illegal means.

That no citation or ordinary process can be issued, and that consequently no sentence, condemning a debtor to pay, however malicious his refusal, can be obtained.

That no sentence, already obtained, and of which there are very many, can be enforced, as the old mode of executing the same has been abolished, and no new mode framed and established.

That executions already levied are stayed beyond the possibility of their being proceeded in one step further—hence plantations under

execution are without sequestrators to administer and protect them; the sale of property, in *custodia regis*, impracticable—such property remaining meanwhile subject to deterioration and loss from every possible contingency,—and, in the case of slaves, subject to expenses ruinous to the interests of all concerned.

That the distribution of the proceeds of property already sold is delayed,—and as in the case of estates, money is seldom or ever actually told down, there exists every risk to the general creditor from the failure of securities.

That appeals noted and under prosecution, many of them solely for the purposes of delay, are unduly protracted, to the manifest injury of those beneficially interested in the sentences appealed from, and this, without the creditor having any the least security for the losses consequent on such delay.

That numerous suits, involving interests of immense amount not called, called and closed, but not pleaded, and in various other stages, are all in abeyance, and in very many instances without security to the creditor.

The mediate effects are—

That without entering into the question of the destruction of what little confidence may have remained in the colonies by those at home, connected therewith, the sudden and premature abolition of all courts of law, will naturally repel every thought of investing capital or extending credit in a colony, the institutions of which depend for their existence upon the will of the executive authority, and not as of right upon the immutable stability of law.

These matters brought to the notice of your Excellency, your memorialists maintain to be worthy of your most serious consideration, and of the application of a remedy.

Your memorialists presume not to point out or pray for any specific remedy.

All which is respectfully submitted by your memorialists.

(Signed) GEORGE WARREN, Chairman.
EDWARD DAWSON, Sec.

August 4th, 1831.

APPOINTMENT.

It is obviously incompatible with the obligations of the office which I hold under his Majesty, for me to go into the consideration of any document, bearing upon the face of it, as this does, an express denial of the rights of the Crown.

(Signed) B. D'URBAN.

King's House, 6th August, 1831.

A true copy.

(Signed) T. C. HAMMILL,
Asst. Gov. Sec.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A FRIEND in the country asked me when I shall be at leisure to see him when he comes to town, and what house will suit me best. I have never any *leisure*. I am always at work or asleep. But I rise so early, and I waste so little time at meals, that, except sometimes on a Wednesday or a Thursday, I can see any body, at any time, upon any business whatever, and am always happy to give every one that applies to me the best advice, or most correct information, in my power. As to whether I am to be found at Kensington, or at Bolt-court, that is a matter of complete uncertainty; but at Bolt-court, information as to this matter may always be had. Sometimes gentlemen call here, find me here, but *engaged*, and then they go away, naturally disliking to wait in the shop. They should not do this, if they really want to see me; for there is just opposite a very nice coffee-house and tavern called the DOCTOR JOHNSON, kept in a very excellent manner, where there is lodging and every accommodation. I have now been an observer of the conduct of the persons in this house for more than a year, and I venture to recommend it to gentlemen who come from the country, and who wish to live a sober and orderly life while they are here. The court itself is a remarkably clean place. Opposite the entrance of it is the great coach-office called the Bolt-in-Tun. We are situated within a step of the Temple, and other Inns of the Courts, and at only about a quarter of an hour's walk from the Royal Exchange, and at five minutes' walk from the foot of Blackfriars-Bridge. The best time in the day to see me is, a little before day-light in winter, and a little after daylight in summer. A Norfolk farmer knocked at the door here half-an-hour before day-light last winter. I was very busy, but the great merit of the hour made me cast aside all business, and attend to his affair with the utmost diligence and zeal.

I once more beg not to have any written application for information relative to *emigration to the United States*.

I wrote my little book called the *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE* (price 2s. 6d.) for the express purpose of relieving myself from the pain of not answering such letters. In that little book is all that I can say upon the subject, if I were to talk to the end of my life-time; yet, if any person happen to be near me, and have any particular question to ask, I at all times feel great pleasure in answering him. Men are wise to go, if they have large growing families, or if they wish to live well, instead of being pinched here under the tax-gatherer. And it will continue to be wise to go until the borough-monger power is completely destroyed.

I thank my correspondent for his extract from the *Morning Post*, which informs the public of the approaching matrimonial alliance between the families of *Butcher Mellish* and that of Lord KINNAIRD. And I observe what my correspondent points out, that there is a wish to make it be believed that it is not *Butcher Mellish*, but *Banker Mellish*. For what reason this attempt is made I know not, seeing that the butcher is by far the more respectable and dignified calling of the two. I am aware that this was a *government butcher*, and I am also aware that the other was a *government banker*. Besides, I do not see, for my part, any *honour* that the butcher is gaining by the alliance either with the KINNAIRDS or with the THYNNES. It is, however, curious to observe how sharply this high-blooded and lofty-minded race look out for the bags that have been grubbed up together through the means of the blessed system that they have been carrying on, and how they pounce upon them whenever they can. An instance of this, and of the consequences of it, will be seen below, in a report which contains an account of the proceedings relative to a fellow of the name of NEELD, who got the heavy bags of old *Rundle*, or *Bundle*, or *Grundle*, or some such name, who used to make the *services of plate for the ambassadors and envoys*, and who made the snuff-boxes and the *seventy-two-gallon silver wine-cooler* for the magnificent King George the Fourth, to whose toiling subjects WILTSHIRE BENETT and his brother

magistrates allowed *a pound and a quarter of bread a day, and a halfpenny for food and clothing*. This NEELD became an object of affection with the daughter of the lofty EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, and the enamoured couple, mutually smitten, doubtless, became man and wife, the result of which, the report to which I refer will most amply set forth, to the great amusement, if not to the moral advantage, of this (as Doctor BLACK calls us) *uneducated and unrefined* people.

CONSISTORY COURT.—MONDAY, DEC. 4.
(Before Dr. Lushington.)

NEELD v. NEELD.—The further hearing of this cause was resumed this morning. Counsel was heard for and against the production of an affidavit, to the effect that Mr. Neeld had written a letter to Lady Caroline, requesting her to leave London, and come to Littleton-house, and that when she did arrive there, in pursuance of her instructions, Mr. Neeld had previously left the house, and was not present to receive her.

The Court: The circumstances of the case were not such as warranted a production of the affidavit at present.

The KING'S ADVOCATE, who appeared on behalf of Mr. Neeld, then went over the various allegations, grounded on the letters of the parties, and endeavoured to show that no proposal for a separation in the first instance emanated from Mr. Neeld; but, on the contrary, it came from Lady Caroline; and that a letter in evidence was written by Mr. Neeld to Lord Shaftesbury, in which the former, by desire of his wife, requested of his lordship that arrangements might be made for effecting a permanent separation; it was further shown in evidence, that Lady Caroline admitted, that in a moment of irritation she might have wished for a separation. Mr. Neeld protested against the imputation of proposals for a separation being laid upon him. Again, on the arrival of the parties in London, Lady Caroline, in a communication to Mr. Neeld, says that she had prepared two bed-rooms in their house in Grosvenor-square, and she waited to know which of them Mr. Neeld meant to occupy? To this the latter replied, "You have driven me from you, and I go to an hotel to-night." It was alleged that Mr. Neeld had practised cruelty, in order to force a separation and his own rate of maintenance on Lady Caroline; but that allegation was only grounded on a letter in which Mr. Neeld simply tells his wife that he did not mean to have a town house. The learned Advocate contended, that from the letters which were now produced, there was proof given that Mr. Neeld had behaved with kindness to his wife. Lady Caroline Neeld had persisted in staying at the house in

Grosvenor-square, though her husband had previously requested her to leave it. With respect to that article in the allegation which alleged that Mr. Neeld had taken no steps to defend his lady's character from the attack in *The Satirist*, what was the fact? In one of these letters now produced, and which it was said on the other side were immaterial to the cause, it appeared that Mr. Neeld had sent to his lady, requesting her to leave Grosvenor-square and return into the country, as he had taken measures to punish the author of the libel upon her in the newspaper, and that as her object in going to town to make affidavits to defend herself was accomplished, she should return. He (the King's Advocate) thought this fully showed that Mr. Neeld had not treated his lady in so cruel a manner as described. The King's Advocate referred to other letters to show that Lady Caroline might have gone to her father's house, and not have remained in that in Grosvenor-square. Mr. Neeld, in fact, suggested that it was indelicate for her to remain there while the house was to be let, and when she refused to leave it, he ordered the furniture to be removed. After a few other remarks, the learned Counsel concluded by expressing his conviction that the libel ought to be rejected.

Dr. PHILLIMORE followed at some length on the same side. A perusal of Mr. Neeld's letters to Lady Caroline would convince the Court that he had acted with propriety—a due attention to Lady Caroline's feelings pervaded them all; they not only decidedly disproved acts of cruelty, but showed that the case was a mere treaty for money; the allegations of cruelty were exceedingly frivolous; in one of the articles Mr. Neeld is charged with cruelty, grounded on the following sentence at the end of a letter to his wife, "I wish you a good morning—I am going to London." The other twenty-four allegations of separate acts of cruelty, said to have been committed in seven-and-twenty days, were equally frivolous—namely, whether she should have fish and pastry to dinner; and that Mr. Neeld had hurt her hand when pulling her into his cabriolet, and such-like. The learned Doctor read extracts of Mr. Neeld's letter to show that the latter had exhausted all means of effecting a reconciliation. He had been charged with committing a series of injuries and insults; but again he (Dr. Phillimore) called upon the Court to look to the letters produced; what did they say? In reference to the dismantling of the house in Grosvenor-square, Mr. Neeld gave his wife repeated notices that it was a proceeding necessary, previous to the sale of it; nay further, that Littleton-house was ready for Lady Caroline's reception, when she should leave the town-house, and that he (Mr. Neeld) had given directions that all her comforts should be attended to. These allegations were not worth the use of serious arguments in their refutation. Lady Caroline's refusal to quit the house in Grosvenor-square was an act of disobedience to her husband. She also

demanding four post horses, while there were plenty of Mr. Neeld's in the stable, and whilst he was of opinion that two were enough either for the purposes of business or pleasure. The learned Doctor concluded by observing that the case ought to be discharged.

Mr. DODSON, for Lady Caroline Neeld, at some length argued on the letter of Mr. Neeld, and contended that the libel was fully substantiated.

Dr. ADAMS followed on the same side. He maintained that a case of constructive cruelty was fully established against Mr. Neeld, who, by a series of petty annoyances, commenced at Warwick Castle, provoked Lady Caroline, in a moment of irritation, to say that she would sooner agree to a separation than submit to such treatment; but that did not warrant the imputation which had been cast upon her by the other side, namely, that the first proposal for a separation came from her; in proof of which it was in evidence that she had endeavoured to meet Mr. Neeld at his house in Grosvenor-square, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation, but he refused to see her; she then met with this brutal usage, for he (Dr. Adams) could not call it by any other name. Lady Caroline, in her letters to Mr. Neeld, says that she was not anxious to force herself upon him; she was anxious, however, for a reconciliation; she had prepared two beds, in order that Mr. Neeld might have his choice, but he rejected both, and went to an hotel; a separation, therefore, became necessary; mutual friends were applied to; the maintenance proposed by Mr. Neeld was considered too limited when compared with his wealth; and her character, in consequence, would suffer by the smallness of the sum. Mr. Neeld was one of the richest men in this country. Allegations no doubt would be made to show that his income amounted to 50,000*l.* a year; but take it at 40,000*l.*, or even, at the very lowest, 30,000*l.* per annum; even in that case he was one of the richest men in the land. He (Dr. Adams) begged pardon for mentioning his Grace the Duke of Devonshire on the present occasion; but he did so for the sake of illustrating his observations; his Grace was known to be one of the richest of the aristocracy; taking, therefore, his annual income at four times the amount of Mr. Neeld's, namely, 120,000*l.* per annum, it became a matter of doubt, seeing that the noble Duke had an expensive establishment to keep up at Devonshire house, at Chatsworth, and other places, if he really had so much of what might be called expendable money as Mr. Neeld, who had not the splendid establishments of his Grace to support. Now, Mr. Neeld having been shown to be so rich, was it too much to allow his bride four post horses to her carriage? The refusal was purposely done to insult her feelings. But it is in evidence that he made a sort of ostentatious desertion of Lady Caroline; he went to Chippenham during the election there for a representative; being the successful candidate, he was an object of

importance in the eyes of the public; he knew that Lady Caroline was in the same town, but he took no notice of her, and left the place; in short, she was placed in situations in which no wife ought to stand; she was deserted, and left to herself; reports prejudicial to her character soon got afloat. The learned Counsel hoped that the Court would admit the allegation.

JUDGMENT.

Dr. LUSHINGTON then proceeded to give judgment. The case he had before him was one of singularity. There were two points to be considered, and to which the attention of the Court must be drawn in the first instance—first, as to whether the libel were admissible at all; and secondly, whether, if it were admitted, it should be reformed. The suit was promoted by Lady Caroline Mary Neeld against Mr. C. Neeld for a separation, on the ground of cruelty. The Court had to decide whether cruelty had been committed by the husband in the legal import of the word, and as laid down by his predecessors in that Chair. He took the main test of cruelty to be whether, if all the charges against Mr. Neeld were capable of proof, Lady Caroline could return to cohabitation with safety to herself. It was the bounden duty of the Court to protect the wife from personal ill-treatment, from cruelty by blows or threats, which might, to a timid mind, be productive of fear. Without violence, or such threats as he had referred to, the Court had no power to separate man and wife. It was the maxim of the English law, that parties could not be separated on slight grounds. He had not to consider whether the separation of the parties would operate to the comfort of the parties. He was bound to give his judgment on the libel and exhibits laid before him. The circumstances of the case now before him were painful indeed. The parties were married in January in the present year, and the cohabitation was short indeed, terminating on the 6th February. A separation of some time took place. Subsequently Lady Caroline commenced a suit for the restitution of conjugal rights, to which Mr. Neeld had assigned compliance. It had been stated, that if acts of cruelty had been committed by Mr. Neeld, it was condoned by her seeking a restitution of conjugal rights. He thought that extraordinary cases might occur where a female might seek a restitution of her rights, though she might hazard personal violence, for the sake of her children, or other things he need not mention. The learned Judge went over the different articles in the libel, and said he could not bring his mind to think, though Mr. Neeld had restricted Lady Caroline in many respects, that acts of cruelty had been made out, which, if proved, would warrant him in deciding in favour of a separation. The Court could not come to the conclusion that Lady Caroline could not return to cohabitation without apprehending personal violence. After going over many other facts, the learned Judge said, he felt it his bounden

duty to reject the libel. The Court had no power to interfere, where charges short of actual violence were not averred. He begged it to be distinctly understood, that in nothing he had said, did he wish to impute motives or blame to either of the parties. He thought it would be doing justice to reject the libel, and save the parties any further public animadversions. He rejected the libel. The suit consequently is put an end to.

The following are the letters which were kept back in the first instance, and to which allusion was so frequently made to-day:—

“Grosvenor-square, Tuesday.

“My dear Lord—I had reached Reading last night, on my route to Hastings, for a few days, for the benefit of my health, and the relief of my spirits, when Captain Boldero joined me there. His arrival changed my plans, and I determined to come up to town.

“I very much regret that the kindly-intentioned interference of Captain Boldero (an interference not sought for by him, but very reluctantly undertaken by him upon urgent entreaty) should have been rejected. As that has been done, and as I have exhausted all the means of approach to reconciliation which were left open to me, and as Lady Caroline (either from the impulse of her own inclinations, or from the advice of her friends) does not attempt any such approach, I see no course now open to us but to leave it to our friends to settle such terms of separation as shall, under all the circumstances of this extraordinary marriage, be thought proper.

“I do not intend to act so uncourtously as to conclude this letter with reproaches, but I must at the same time do justice to myself; and I should not do that if I did not positively and solemnly declare—first, that I am not conscious of one single imputation to my prejudice which Lady Caroline can justly make against me; and, in the next place, that I protest against the requisition of separation being imputed to me. The first suggestion of it came from Lady Caroline herself, in her conversation with me at Warwick; and her subsequent conduct has forced me to consider that suggestion as one, the adoption of which is the only course likely to produce to us mutual quiet and peace.

“I am, my dear Lord, very sincerely yours,
“JOS. NEELD.”

Superscribed

“The Earl of Shaftesbury.”

“You have driven me from you. I go to an hotel to-night.

“Thursday night. “J. N.”

“Brook-street, April 21.

“Lady Caroline—After it had been intimated to me that a separation between you and me had been agreed to by you and your family, I was not prepared to expect that such a treaty for money as has ensued would have taken place. I have now come to the deter-

mination of breaking up my town establishment for the present year, as I had before intimated to you the probability of my doing. I have written to Grittleton that proper preparations may be made for your reception, and the carriage will be ready to take you down on Saturday or Monday, at any hour you may name. I shall follow as soon as my necessary attendance in Parliament will permit.

“Yours,

“J. N.”

Superscribed

“The Lady Caroline Neeld.”

“Cheltenham, Tuesday Evening.

“It is not my intention to return to Grittleton House for the present.

“I have given directions to have all your comforts properly attended to, and I hope you will find that those directions have been obeyed.

“Yours,

“J. N.”

“Coulson’s Hotel, May 24.

“You cannot justly impute to me that my conduct towards you has been in any respect ‘disgraceful;’ all the reports which have arisen injurious to your character are ascribable to yourself alone. The only blame that I can lay to myself is that of having been too kind to you, and having submitted too much to your improper conduct.

“Whether your remaining in my advertised house is detrimental to its sale or not, I am the best and choose to be the only judge. I think it so. I do not stop to inquire how far it is consistent with the ordinary delicacy of a lady to enter into a placarded house, open to the public inspection of every house-hunter, in opposition to my known wishes, and in contradiction of your father’s written engagement; nor how it can be proper for you to volunteer to stay in the house under such circumstances; nor do I stay to ask how it is compatible with female delicacy for you to proffer yourself to a joint residence with me, after you first separated yourself from me; after your father, corresponding and acting for you, has written to me that separation was inevitable; and after he referred it to our mutual solicitors ‘to settle the terms of our separation.’ Those terms went off upon the excess of the pecuniary demands made upon my purse.

“I now apprise you that if you do not like to go to your father’s house (upon which invitation you came to town), I will take apartments for you at the Coburg Hotel (which, I must presume, is unobjectionable to you, because it is the one you selected when we came to town in January), until Grittleton House is fit for your reception; but I cannot allow your longer stay at my house in the square.

“Yours,

J. N.”

“Coulson’s Hotel, May 27.

“Your obstinate refusal to quit the house in Grosvenor-square, for the mere purpose of preventing its sale, is an act of disobedience on your part which I will not submit to. I

now give you notice, that to-morrow being the day I fixed for your departure, I shall send the upholsterer in, with orders to take down all the beds, and to put the house in a state fit only for the purpose of being viewed for sale. I shall also discharge all the servants from it, and shall leave it in the sole charge of the upholsterer's man.

"These steps can put you to no inconvenience, because I have given you already timely intimation that I required you to leave the house; that Grittleton House was ready for your reception, as it now is; and at the same time I offered to take suitable apartments for you at the Coburg, or any other respectable hotel, if for any particular purpose you wish to stay in town for a few days longer. I now repeat that offer.

"On your suggestion of an appeal to law, I have consulted one of the most eminent civilians in Doctors' Commons as to the course I am legally entitled to pursue, and the proceedings which I now notify to you are those which he advises. He further advises me that your arrogant claim to four horses, instead of a pair, for the mere purpose of a morning airing, is what you have no right to make, and upon his advice I shall resist it. And your extravagant hiring of four post-horses daily, while you had a competent supply in the stable, is equally objectionable, and the repetition of such conduct will not be permitted.

"In conclusion, I have only to say, that if you think a system of petty annoyances can drive me to submit to extortion, you will find yourself mistaken; and further, that if you continue to forget, or at least to violate the obedience and duties of a wife, I will assert and exercise the power and authority of a husband, to their utmost legal extent.

"I leave town this evening, as you are aware I had arranged to do. I cannot delay my departure longer than eight o'clock, before which hour, I shall expect to receive your answer at my hotel as to your determination. If I should not receive it before that time, I shall desire my Secretary to call upon you at ten o'clock to-morrow for your directions.

"Yours, "J. N."

Superscribed

"Lady Caroline Neeld."

"Coulson's Hotel, May 24.

"Having taken measures, on the earliest possible day, to punish the author of the atrocious libel in *The Satirist*, and the object of your journey to town being accomplished, I request you will again return into the country. Your present stay in Grosvenor-square, whilst the house is on sale and public view, is not only inconvenient and indelicate, but is prejudicial to the sale of the property, which I am desirous to effect without delay, as the season is fast running on.

"As, however, your return to Grittleton House for a few days, under the circumstances stated in the enclosed letter from the medical gentleman at Chippenham (it is a reply to a

letter I sent to him on Sunday, when I heard of the young woman's illness by the servant who came to town that day), may neither be prudent nor safe. I request to know whether you will go to an hotel, or prefer returning to your father's house, as he proposed when you came up to town.

"I shall give orders for the immediate removal of the young woman to a proper place, so that the house may be ready for your reception with the least possible delay.

"I wish to know what you decide upon, as I leave town to-morrow.

"Yours,

"J. N."

"Chippenham, June 14, 1831.

"Mr. Lawes—Sir, Mr. Neeld has requested me to inform you, that there are now in his stables at Grittleton House, three carriage and two other horses for the use of Lady Caroline Neeld, and that he will not be responsible for the costs of any post horses furnished by you or Mr. Carpenter for the use of her Ladyship.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES LOCKE."

Superscribed

"Mr. Lawes, Chippenham."

"Dearest Har.—Both London and I are locked up, and men guarding the door outside. I do not know how to get out. Can you consult the Earl? Mr. N. is going out soon himself, I believe. Will the Earl give me a bed to-night? Do not let the Earl or H. C. come. I will manage somehow."

Superscribed

"Lady H. Corry, 24, Grosvenor-square."

SPECIAL COMMISSIONS.

CROWN OFFICE, DEC. 3, 1831.

His Majesty has been pleased to command the issuing of the following Commissions:—

William the Fourth, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to our well-beloved and faithful Councillor Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux, Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Great Britain; our most dear cousin and councillor Henry Marquess of Lansdowne, President of our Council; our well-beloved and faithful councillor John George Lord Durham, Keeper of our Privy Seal; our most dear cousin Charles Duke of Beaufort; our most dear cousins and councillors William Spencer Duke of Devonshire, Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley; our well-beloved and faithful councillor Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Knt., Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas; our beloved and faithful Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Knt., one of the Justices of our Court of Common Pleas; Sir William Elias Taunton, Knt., one of the Justices assigned to hold pleas before us; Sir Thomas

DENMAN, Knt., our Attorney-General; Thomas WILDE, one of our Serjeants-at-Law; John Gurney, Esq., one of our Counsel learned in the law; and William Selwyn, Esq., one other of our Counsel learned in the law; greeting: Know ye, that we have assigned you, and any two of you, of whom one of you, the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thos. Wilde, John Gurney, and Wm. Selwyn, we will shall be one, our Justices, to inquire more fully the truth, by the oath of good and lawful men of the county of the city of Bristol, and by other ways, means, and methods by which you shall or may better know (as well within liberties as without) by whom the truth of the matter may be the better known and inquired into, of all treasons, misprisions of treason, insurrections, rebellions, counterfeittings, clippings, washings, false coinings, and other falsities of the money of Great Britain and other our kingdoms and dominions whatsoever, and of all murders, felonies, manslaughters, killings, burglaries, rapes of women, unlawful meetings and conventicles, unlawful uttering of words, assemblies, misprisions, confederacies, false allegations, trespasses, riots, routs, retentions, escapes, contempts, falsities, negligences, concealments, maintenances, oppressions, champarties, deceits, and all other evil doings, offences, and injuries whatsoever, and also the accessaries of them, within the county of the city aforesaid (as well within liberties as without), by whomsoever and in what manner soever done, committed, or perpetrated, and by whom, or to whom, when, how, and after what manner, and of all other articles and circumstances concerning the premises, and every of them, or any of them, in any manner whatsoever, and the said treasons and the other premises, according to the laws and customs of England, for this time to hear and determine.

And, therefore, we command you, that at a certain day and place, or at certain days and places, which you, or any two of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), shall appoint for this purpose, you make diligent inquiries about the premises, and hear and determine all and singular the premises, and do and fulfil them in the aforesaid form, doing therein what to justice does appertain, according to the laws and customs of England, saving to us the amerciaments and other things from thence to us accruing: and we command, by the tenour of these presents, our Sheriffs of our county of the city aforesaid, that at such a day and place, or days and places, which you, or two of you, (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall

be one,) shall make known to them, they cause to come before you, or two of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), so many and such good and lawful men of their bailiwick (as well within liberties as without), by whom the truth of the premises may be better known and inquired into.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent.—Witness ourself at Westminster, the third day of December, in the second year of our reign.

BATHURST.

William the Fourth, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to our well-beloved and faithful Councillor Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux, Chaucellor of that part of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Great Britain; our most dear cousin and councillor Henry Marquess of Landsdowne, President of our Council; our well-beloved and faithful councillor John George Lord Durham, Keeper of our Privy Seal; our most dear cousin Charles Duke of Beaufort; our most dear cousins and councillors William Spencer Duke of Devonshire; Richard Colley Marquess of Wellesley; our well-beloved and faithful Councillor, Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Knt., Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas; our beloved and faithful Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Knt., one of the Justices of our Court of Common Pleas; Sir William Elias Taunton, Knt., one of the Justices assigned to hold pleas before us; Sir Thomas DENMAN, Knt., our Attorney-General; Thomas WILDE, one of our Serjeants at Law; John Gurney, Esq., one of our Counsel learned in the Law; and William Selwyn, Esq., one other of our Counsel learned in the Law, greeting; know ye, that we have constituted you, and any two or more of you (of whom one of you, the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas DENMAN, Thomas WILDE, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), our Justices to deliver our jail of our county of the city of Bristol, of the prisoners therein being and detained, or who shall be therein detained, before the nineteenth day of December instant:

And, therefore, we command you, that, at a certain day, or at certain days, which you, or any two or more of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas DENMAN, Thomas WILDE, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), shall appoint for this purpose, you meet at the said city of Bristol, to deliver that jail, doing therein what to justice appertains, according to the laws and customs of England, saving to us the amer-

ciaments and other things to us from thence accruing :

And we command, by the tenour of these presents, our Sheriffs of our county of the city aforesaid, that, at a certain day or at certain days, which you, or any two or more of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), shall acquaint them with, they cause all the prisoners of the same jail, and their attachments, before you, or any two or more of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), there to come.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent.—Witness ourself at Westminster, the third day of December, in the second year of our reign.

BATHURST.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

DE BUCK, W. J., Broad-street-buildings, merchant.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

BAUCHAMP, R., Holborn-bars, pawn-broker.
CHURCH, W., Mark-lane, wine-merchant.
GILLHAM, C., Romford, Essex, wine-mer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

ATKINSON, G. E., Leman-st., Goodman's-fields, painter.
DUNN, R., Wiveliscombe, Somersetshire, clothier.
PUCKERIDGE, J., Draycot, Wilts., farmer.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, J., and T. Brown, Bromley St. Leonard, black-ash-manufacturer.
CANAVAN, M., Macclesfield, draper.
CHAPMAN, J., Wells next the Sea, Norfolk, merchant.
CLEMENT, M., Streatham, Cambridgeshire, cordwainer.
CLIFF, C., Sheffield, dealer in hats.
COLLARD, A. W., Liverpool, merchant.
CROOKS, E., Sheffield, laceman.
HARDISTY, J., Horsforth, Yorks., money-scrivener.
HAWKINS, J., and G. Reddis, Haymarket, wine-merchant.
HUNT, J., Preston, wine-merchant.
LAILEY, T., Cotton-street, High-street, Poplar, cheesemonger.

MORTON, A., late of Richmond, Surrey, wine-merchant.

PALNE, H., Newman-street, Oxford-street, builder.

PLIMPTON, W., and W. S. Plimpton, late of Lower Thames-st., seedsmen.

RINDER, J., Leeds, butcher.

THOMPSON, A., Barnard Castle, Durham, linen-draper.

WILLIAMS, J., Saint Wollos, Monmouths., coal-merchant.

YOUNG, J., Wells next the Sea, Norfolk, surgeon.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BELLIS, E., J. Burt, and J. Thundercliffe, Edinburgh, curriers.

DUTHIE, A. jun., Aberdeen, merchant.

GOUDLE, J., Edinburgh, merchant.

ROUTLEDGE, W., Glasgow, merchant.

THOM, G., D. Cameron, and R. Buchanan, Gartack, cattle-dealers.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

SCHOFIELD, T., Wakefield, Yorkshire, inn-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

BAMFORD, J. Leamington-Priors, Warwickshire, wine-merchant.

BARGH, W., Dronfield, Derbys., victualler.

BLAKE, S. A., Plymouth, ironmonger.

BRADLEY, W., Manchester, manufacturer.

DAVIS, C. F., Nailsworth, Gloucesters., clothier.

DODGIN, D., Burlington-gardens, Bond-st., gold-manufacturer.

EMASS, W. Birmingham, bookseller.

HARDING, W. B., Gloucester, baker.

HILL, W., York, miller.

PARKER, J. H., Wells next the Sea Norfolk, ship-builder.

PHILLIPS, A., Bromwich, Tottenham-court-road, baker.

PRISEMAN, J., Putney, wheelwright.

TALBOT, W., Birmingham, grocer.

TILSTONE, J. R., Cheapside, and Bank Chambers, Lothbury, commercial-agent.

TREGENT, P., Postlip, Gloucestershire, paper manufacturer.

WALLER, T., Birstall, Yorkshire, leather dealer.

WALTON, C., and J. Walton, Toxeth-park Lancashire, builders.

WYLIE, C. G., Watton-place, Blackfriars-road, cheese-monger.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CUPAR, T. V., Fife, baker.

LECKIE, R. Glasgow, spirit-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, DECEMBER 26.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English, Scotch, and Foreign wheat, English and Scotch barley, English malt, beans, and peas, have been moderately good; of Irish wheat and oats, English, Irish, Scotch, and Foreign flour, and Foreign linseed, great; of English and Scotch oats, as well as seeds (with the above exception), from all quarters limited.

This day's market, as is usual on a holiday Monday, was thinly attended, particularly in its early part, both by London and country buyers; consequently its trade was throughout dull; with wheat and barley at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter; flour, 2s. to 3s. per sack; with oats, beans, peas, seeds, and rye (the latter nearly or quite nominal), at last week's prices.

The lower quotations of wheat are unaltered, owing to an improvement in quality.

Wheat	60s. to 66s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	26s. to 31s.
— fine	33s. to 40s.
Peas, White	38s. to 42s.
— Boilers	40s. to 46s.
— Grey	37s. to 41s.
Beans, Old	35s. to 41s.
— Tick	38s. to 44s.
Oats, Potatoe	25s. to 30s.
— Poland	24s. to 27s.
— Feed	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	56s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new .. 125s. 0d. to 127s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 6d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast 101s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow 101s. to 105s.	
— Cork 99s. to —s.	
— Limerick .. 99s. to —s.	
— Waterford.. 95s. to 99s.	
— Dublin 96s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire.... 60s. to 84s.	
— Gloucester, Double.. 56s. to 65s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 50s. to 54s.	
— Edam 46s. to 52s.	
— Gouda 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish..... 62s. to 70s.	

SMITHFIELD.—December 26.

This day's market exhibited throughout the most limited Monday's supply recollected to have been witnessed in it. Nearly or quite a moiety of it was comprised of stock turned out unsold from last week's markets. The trade was, however, in the whole dull; with beef at an advance of about 2d.; mutton and veal 2d. to 4d. per stone; with pork at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 958; sheep and lambs, 8,210; calves, 27; pigs, 70.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 23.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent Cons. shut.

Consuls for Account (Thursday), 84½.

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4. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

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